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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

CEMA Meeting Discusses Group's Disbandment *[TASS]* 1
  28 July Said Final Day *[Budapest Radio]* 1
  INTERFAX on Demise of CEMA *[INTERFAX]* 1
Pact's Future Pondered on 36th Anniversary *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 14 May]* 2

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Gorbachev Message to Space Agencies Moscow Forum *[PRAVDA 17 May]* 4
Foreign Ministry Press Briefing Reported 4
  U.S. Officials Visit *[TASS]* 4
  'Alarming Reports' From Afghanistan *[TASS]* 4
Petrovskiy on Moscow CSCE Humanitarian Forum *[TASS]* 5
Moscow CSCE Human Dimension Talks Previewed *[TASS]* 5
Russian Foreign Minister Leads Delegation to UN *[TASS]* 6
'World This Week' Program Analyzes Issues *[Moscow Radio]* 6
Prospects for Mediterranean Cooperation Analyzed *[VOENNYY VESTNIK Mar-Apr]* 11

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

IZVESTIYA on Gates' 'Hard-Line Views' *[18 May]* 13
State Department's Kamman Meets Deputy Ministers *[TASS]* 13
Officials To Leave for G-7 Meeting in U.S. *[INTEFAX]* 14
Shevardnadze More 'Optimistic' About Reforms *[Moscow Radio]* 14
Yeltsin Supporters Buy Washington Building *[Moscow Radio]* 14
Arrest in Murder of U.S. Envoy's Butler *[TASS]* 14

China

Jiang Zemin Delegation 17 May Activities Reported 15
  Tours Auto Factory, Gives Speech *[PRAVDA 18 May]* 15
  Addresses Soviet People *[Moscow TV]* 16
  Holds News Conference *[TASS]* 17
  Meets Dzasokhov *[Moscow TV]* 18
  Attends Concert *[Moscow TV]* 18
  Gorbachevs Host 'Comradely' Dinner *[IZVESTIYA 20 May]* 18
  Foreign Ministers Meet *[TASS]* 18
  Defense Ministers Meet *[TASS]* 19

Northeast Asia

Third Stage of Withdrawal From Mongolia Begins *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 May]* 19
  Effect on Sino-Soviet Ties Viewed *[Moscow International]* 19

East Europe

- Bulgaria's Popov in Moscow on Official Visit ... 20
  - Meets Gorbachev; Communique Released *[TASS]* ... 20
  - Meets Pavlov *[TASS]* ... 20
  - Holds News Conference *[Moscow Radio]* ... 20
  - TASS Cites Popov Remarks *[TASS]* ... 21

West Europe

- Deputy Cited on Troop Withdrawal From Germany *[TASS]* ... 21
- Gen. Kochetov on Housing Controversy With Germans *[PRAVDA 15 May]* ... 22
- Netherlands Proposal To Raise Submarine Accepted *[Moscow Radio]* ... 23

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet

- Speeches From 16 May Supreme Soviet Session ... 24
  - Shcherbakov Reports on Compensation *[Moscow Radio]* ... 24
  - Kryuchkov Hails Security Law *[Moscow TV]* ... 24
  - Pavlov's Appointment Recommendations *[Moscow TV]* ... 25
- Law on Arbitration Tribunal Passed 17 May *[TASS]* ... 26
- Exit-Entry Draft Law Adopted 20 May *[TASS]* ... 26

Political & Social

- Air Traffic Controller Strike Threatened 21 May ... 26
  - Paper Urges Concessions *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 17 May]* ... 26
  - Russian Trade Unions Pledge Support *[INTERFAX]* ... 27
  - Controllers Hold News Conference *[Moscow Radio]* ... 27
  - Prosecutor Says Statutes Illegal *[IZVESTIYA 18 May]* ... 28
  - Air Officials, Controllers Comment *[Moscow TV]* ... 28
  - Trade Union Leaders Interviewed *[IZVESTIYA 18 May]* ... 29
  - Minister Says Flights To Continue *[PRAVDA 18 May]* ... 30
  - Air Traffic Controllers List Demands *[Moscow TV]* ... 31
  - Military Expected To Fill In *[Moscow TV]* ... 31
  - Cabinet Examines Strike Threat *[TASS]* ... 32
  - Air Controllers Prepare for Strike *[Radio Rossii]* ... 32
- Gorbachev Presents Draft Income Indexation Plan *[TASS]* ... 32
- Gorbachev Decree on Key Industries Reported *[INTERFAX]* ... 32
- Paper's 'Insulting' Item on Gorbachev Refuted *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 15 May]* ... 33
- Soviet Legislature Endorses Free-Travel Bill *[AFP]* ... 33
- Kryuchkov Favors Adoption of Entry, Exit Law *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA]* ... 33
- Results of Soviet Emigration Poll Released *[INTERFAX]* ... 33
- Shcherbakov Interviewed on Government Program *[Moscow Radio]* ... 34
- Ivashko Chairs CPSU CC Secretariat Session *[TASS]* ... 34
- Pavlov Comments on Anticrisis Program *[PRAVDA 17 May]* ... 35
- CPSU Secretariat Land Reform Resolution *[PRAVDA 14 May]* ... 36
- CPSU Commission Debates State Control Removal *[TASS]* ... 37
- KGB Spokesman Says New Security Law Necessary *[TASS]* ... 38
- MVD Increases Efforts To Disarm Illegal Groups *[Moscow Radio]* ... 38
- Council of Primary Organization Secretaries Meets *[PRAVDA 14 May]* ... 38
- PRAVDA on Meeting of Party Secretaries *[PRAVDA 15 May]* ... 39
- Association of Republic Capitals Organized *[Moscow International]* ... 39
- Ministry Fails To Pay for U.S. Sattelite Link *[Moscow TV]* ... 39
- CPSU Situation 'More Serious Than It Appears' *[PRAVDA 14 May]* ... 40
- Bakatin Urges 'Commonsense' Policy Stances Policy *[IZVESTIYA 15 May]* ... 44
- New Independent Newspaper Published *[Moscow TV]* ... 48

Economic

- Shcherbakov on Economic Crisis, Upcoming Measures *[Moscow Radio]* ... 48
- Pavlov Denies Emergency Measures Needed *[INTERFAX]* ... 49
- Vorkuta Mines Operating, Problems Remain *[Moscow TV]* ... 49

Scientific

- Manned Soyuz Spacecraft Launched *[TASS]* ... 49
  - Crew Describes Scheduled Activities *[TASS]* ... 49
  - Systems Normal, Cosmonauts Well *[TASS]* ... 50
  - Initial Rendezvous Maneuver Completed *[TASS]* ... 50

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltic Republics

- Estonian CP Discusses Baltic Congress *[TASS]* ... 51
- Estonian Government Initiates Justice Reform *[Tallinn Radio]* ... 51
- Gorbunovs Comments Upon Return From France *[Riga Radio]* ... 51
  - Receives Advice From Mitterrand *[Riga Radio]* ... 51
- Latvian Prime Minister on U.S. Aid to Baltics *[BALTFAX]* ... 52
- Anticrisis Program Said 'Theoretically Correct' *[BALTFAX]* ... 52
- Lithuanian Supreme Council 16 May Meeting Reported *[Radio Vilnius]* ... 52
- Landsbergis Says 'Foreign Force' in Lithuania *[Vilnius International]* ... 53
- Vagnorius on Lithuania's Market Transition *[EKHO LITVY 8 May]* ... 53
- Lithuanian Statement Cites Soviet Troops' Attack *[Radio Vilnius]* ... 54
- Lithuanian Official on Rights Conference *[Radio Vilnius]* ... 54
- Lithuanian Commissar on Draft Issues *[Moscow TV]* ... 55
- Lithuanian Party Opposes Parliament Majorty *[BALTFAX]* ... 55
- Lithuanian Parliament Spokesman Briefs Press *[Vilnius Radio]* ... 55
- Lithuania's Prunskiene on Current Government *[Radio Vilnius]* ... 56
- 2d Meeting Between Soviets, Lithuanians Doubtful *[BALTFAX]* ... 56

RSFSR

- Yeltsin Addresses RSFSR Supreme Soviet 16 May *[Moscow TV]* ... 56
  - Chairs Constitutional Commission *[Radio Rossii]* ... 58
- Supreme Soviet Adopts State of Emergency Law *[TASS]* ... 58
- Yeltsin Views RSFSR Congress Session *[Moscow TV]* ... 59
- Polozkov Discusses Congress of People's Deputies *[Moscow TV]* ... 61
- Yeltsin Chooses Running Mate for Election *[TASS]* ... 61
- Ryzhkov Statement on Candidacy, Running Mate *[Moscow TV]* ... 61
- Further Reportage on Democratic Russia Explosion ... 62
  - 'Strong' Blast Described *[TASS]* ... 62
  - Official Details Explosion *[INTERFAX]* ... 62
  - Party Leaders Denounce Blast *[INTERFAX]* ... 62
  - Moscow Procurator To Investigate Explosion *[INTERFAX]* ... 63
  - Yeltsin Signatures Survive Explosion *[INTERFAX]* ... 63
  - Libertarian Party Claims 'Responsibility' *[Moscow TV]* ... 63
  - Libertarians Deny Responsibility *[Moscow TV]* ... 63
- Silayev Discusses Cabinet Meeting 15 May *[Radio Rossii]* ... 63
- Silayev Discusses Economic Reform Plans *[TASS]* ... 66

Western Republics

- Belorussian Supreme Soviet Discusses Presidency *[Minsk Radio]* ... 66
- Belorussian Draft Socioeconomic Plan Published *[TASS]* ... 67
- Belorussian Supreme Soviet To Air Strike Issues *[IZVESTIYA 17 May]* ... 67
- Protests at Scene of Khmara Trial in Ukraine *[Kiev International]* ... 67
  - Trial Postponed by Protests *[Kiev International]* ... 68
- Moldovan Premier Accused of 'Serious Errors' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 May]* ... 69

Caucasus

Gamsakhurdia To Meet Gorbachev in Late May *[IZVESTIYA 18 May]* 69
  Views Relations With Moscow *[TASS]* 69
Situation Calm in South Ossetia 17 May *[TASS]* 69
Military Task Force Controls Tskhinvali Situation *[Moscow TV]* 70
Armenian Supreme Soviet Appeals to Gorbachev *[Yerevan Radio]* 70
Armenian Supreme Soviet Views NKAO Situation *[Yerevan Radio]* 70
Armenian Emergency Council Reviews Situation *[Yerevan Radio]* 71
Armenian Declaration on 'State Terrorism' *[Yerevan Radio]* 71
Armenia Notes 'War' Situation, Seeks Observers *[Moscow Radio]* 72
  Demands Observers Within Two Days *[TASS]* 73
Armenia Sets Up Commission To Study Provocation *[GOLOS ARMENII 1 May]* 73
Central Media Accused of Misrepresenting Facts *[INTERFAX]* 73
Situation Remains Tense in Nagorno-Karabakh *[INTERFAX]* 74
  Area Described *[TASS]* 74
  Detentions Reported *[Yerevan Radio]* 74
  Stopping Bloodshed Urged *[Radio Rossii]* 75
  MVD, KGB Operating in NKAO *[ARMENPRES]* 75
  Appeal to UN Secretary General *[INTERFAX]* 75

CEMA Meeting Discusses Group's Disbandment

LD1905022391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 18 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Shishlin]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Apr (TASS)—The agenda of the 46th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance planned for the end of June in Budapest includes just one point: abolition of the CEMA. Permanent representatives of CEMA member countries discussed preparations for the final forum of this organization and related problems over two days in Moscow. At the news conference held today on the results of the meeting, journalists were told that the whole structure of the CEMA, and the organization itself, will cease de jure to exist 90 days after the Budapest session. The delegations of the CEMA member countries will be headed not by heads of government, but by the representatives.

Immediately after the end of the 46th session a liquidation commission will begin work, the main task of which will be to coordinate the legal and, first of all, property questions at issue. This will also function for three months. The most acute problem, requiring the agreement of positions, is the use of the CEMA's property. In the words of Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations and the permanent representative for Hungary, it was not possible to reach a consensus at the present meeting in Moscow. The Soviet Union wants the property to be bought up while the East European countries are interested in finding a form for its joint use. A precise evaluation of CEMA's property has not yet been carried out.

The general opinion of the participants in the meeting of permanent representatives is that the abolition of the CEMA is not the funeral of cooperation between the countries that are still members of this organization. They intend to develop in the future, too, ties within the framework of bilateral contacts on the basis of mutual benefit and the new realities. There is united understanding also of the fact that the common problems of adaptation to the new processes make it necessary to create such a consultative body which will concentrate upon, first of all, the exchange of information and will promote adaptation to world market structures. In this connection, it was reported at the news conference, mutual understanding has been reached on the formation of a group of experts immediately after the Budapest session which will elaborate the main principles and aims of the new type of cooperation.

28 July Said Final Day

LD1805110691 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 18 May 91

[Excerpts] In Moscow, the CEMA ministers have signed an agreement that will dissolve the organization once and for all as of 28 July [as heard]. Gabor Izbeki reports:

[Izbeki] [passage omitted] At a news conference today in Moscow, Bela Kadar, Hungary's representative and the chairman of the CEMA Executive Committee, said that following the signing, the committee dealing with the organization's liquidation will be given 90 days to settle property, financial, and other matters, which remain rather disputed at this point, and that the member states should also work on legislation that wraps up CEMA in a legal sense.

In terms of assets, the Soviet Union would like to buy the CEMA palace and adjoining establishments at a rather low, self-established price. The smaller countries, however, Hungary among them, would be interested in operating it jointly in an effort to generate some profit. According to leaked information, the Soviet Union would be willing to do this, but no one has been able to find an agreement acceptable to all sides. The assets, incidentally, are valued anywhere between 100 million rubles and $500 million, depending on who wants to do what with them.

It was somewhat surprising that the representatives of Cuba, Vietnam, and Mongolia—the least developed countries of CEMA—did not attend the closing news conference. They are probably offended that the European countries do not wish to be in the same organization with them.

Bela Kadar also said that the goals and tasks of the future information and consultation forum of the East European countries, the organization that will succeed CEMA in one form or another, are not clear yet. Talks will begin about this following the Budapest meeting dissolving CEMA. We are not burying the cooperation, only the organization, said Hungary's CEMA representative.

INTERFAX on Demise of CEMA

OW1705123391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 16 May 91

["COMECON: It Was Easier To Create Than it Is Now To Bury—INTERFAX headline, from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] On May 17-18 a working visit of the permanent representative of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) will take place in Moscow. Its participants will discuss the basic problems connected with the liquidation of the organisation. Agreed draft documents should be submitted at the final session of COMECON which, according to sources within the organisation, could take place at the end of June.

At the begining, it was suggested that the last session of COMECON (it was planned for February) should decide not only on its liquidation but also on the creation of a new Organisation of International Economic Cooperation (OIEC). However, the European members of the council at the last moment rejected this Soviet plan. In particular, they objected to the planned membership of

Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam. After this it was decided to separate the two questions—the liquidation of COMECON and the creation of the OIEC.

According to well informed COMECON sources, the intergovernmental agreement on the abolishing of the organisation has in the main been agreed on and will be submitted at the session. According to the document, the council will suspend its activities 90 days following the signing of the agreement by the representative of the member countries. A liquidation commission will be established which is in particular to decide the fate of the remaining secretariat employees. Of the 530 people who worked at COMECON last May (not including technical and service personnel) only about a quarter remain. The involved countries have still to come to an agreement regarding property. The European members would like to see the Secretariat building remain in joint ownership and used for general purposes. The Soviet Union, however, has officially announced its intention to buy the building, considering the indivisible property of the organisation.

At the working meeting on May 17-18 all possible aspects of future cooperation will be considered. Two drafts for a joint statement have been prepared. The Soviet draft sees all sides expressing the intention of creating a consultative organisation for international economic cooperation with a range of fairly serious functions with its own structure and apparatus. This organisation would regulate relations between countries, separate enterprises, cooperative organisation in the fields of energy, transport and so on. The Soviet Union has not yet expressed a view one way or the other on the creation of a purely European organisation but seems to be leaning towards a regional structure.

The project of the five countries—Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia—sees the COMECON session making a declaration of its readiness to consider "possible forms and conditions" for the creation of a European regional organisation. Such an organisation should have an exclusively information and consultation based role and should encourage a more active transfer of the countries to market relations and their inclusion in the world economy. This latter point basically means these countries getting ever nearer to the world market. This new organisation will therefore be created for the transfer period and after a certain period of time the need for it will fade. It will not have anything like the same status as that which was once enjoyed by COMECON.

According to the same COMECON source, the final session will most likely be held not at a head of government level as was earlier planned but at the level of permament representatives of the organisation's member countries.

Pact's Future Pondered on 36th Anniversary

PM1705121191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 May 91 First Edition p 3

[Article by Major General (Retired) M. Monin, doctor of historical sciences, under the "International Notes" rubric: "With Concern for Security"]

[Text] Nowadays holidays, anniversaries, and celebratory dates are changing their substance literally before our eyes and are no longer perceived as they were yesterday. And so, for the first time, we are marking the 36th anniversary of the formation of the Warsaw Pact organization without its military component, which was abolished by a decision of the Warsaw Pact members. This fact has not gone unnoticed by the Soviet public. Commenting on it, many are expressing fears for our country's security. They say that a bastion to which we have become accustomed as durable and insuperable to any aggressor has been destroyed. And it is being widely asserted that the USSR has now been left without allies and is once again, as it was just before the Great Patriotic War, in effect acting in isolation in the face of a strong coalition of Western powers.

Of course, it is hardly possible to remain indifferent to such dramatic changes in the Warsaw Pact and to suggest that it is merely an ordinary fact that does not affect the USSR's interests. After all, over almost four decades the combined armed forces of Warsaw Pact states were an effective factor for peace and stability not only on the European continent but also in the whole world. They were a reliable guarantee for all the allied countries. The Warsaw Pact does not now have this structure, and negative features can be observed in relations between the organization's members.

Thus, it has to be stated with bitterness that certain forces in East European countries are intensifying the atmosphere of distrust and suspiciousness toward the USSR, and even of alienation from it. And certain actions carried out by the leaderships of former allied countries are abetting this. As an example one can cite the "Armed Forces-90" concept adopted in Poland, which envisions "defense on two lines—in the East and in the West." And in Poland, as well as in the CSFR and Hungary, a redeployment of troops from western to eastern regions is being carried out. If we are talking about protection from one's ally—the Soviet state—then such actions clearly contradict the spirit not only of the Warsaw Pact but also of the bilateral treaties on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance which have been concluded between the USSR and East European countries.

Incidentally, people in Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, and Sofia are calling for a review of the said treaties with Moscow and for the exclusion from them of articles providing for the rendering of mutual assistance in the event of aggression. A situation that Warsaw Pact members are unused to is taking shape, whereby the defense of security and sovereignty by each of them ceases to be organized on the basis of mutual assistance and military comradeship between allied armies, as was previously envisioned by the Warsaw Pact.

The desire of certain Warsaw Pact member countries for a rapprochement with NATO can also be seen. This tendency, according to CSFR President V. Havel, should be assessed as the "shoot of a new security system in Europe." Other countries are taking a position close to this.

Such are the facts attesting to the centrifugal tendencies in the Warsaw Pact. And therefore the alarm of those who see them as potentially weakening the Soviet state's security can, I repeat, be understood.

Nevertheless, I see no grounds for despondency and dismay—because a sensible approach to the problem of ensuring peace and security prompts the firm conclusion that, even given the elimination of the Warsaw Pact's military structure, the Soviet Armed Forces will not lose the capacity to guarantee its country's reliable security and an adequate current position in the world. Of course, henceforth the correlation of forces in the world will be determined by the balance between the USSR and NATO, and not between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. In Europe the Soviet Union, left without its Warsaw Pact allies, is quantitatively inferior to NATO in terms of conventional weapons. This puts a different complexion on last November's Paris agreements on parity between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries in conventional weapons. But in contemporary conditions our state's defense capability and the stability of its security are ensured primarily by the presence of nuclear missiles. It is known that the USSR is maintaining strategic parity with the United States in this sphere.

The new realities of the world situation, especially in Europe, must also be taken into account. The joint declaration by 22 states signed in Paris last November paved the way toward a departure by NATO and Warsaw Pact countries from the policy of bloc rivalry and toward the creation of a new security system, based on nonconfrontational all-European structures.

And there is still broad scope for cooperation between the USSR and East European countries. They will be motivated toward such cooperation by both economic and political interests, which in many respects will inevitably coincide with the USSR's interests and, consequently, will be of a mutually advantageous nature. Incidentally, the first treaty on such principles—between our country and Romania—has already been signed.

Gorbachev Message to Space Agencies Moscow Forum

PM1705142391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 91 Second Edition p 1

["USSR President's Greeting to Participants in Space Agencies Moscow Forum"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] I welcome to Moscow the participants in the space agencies forum. I hope that your meeting to prepare for International Space Year, which is to be held under UN auspices, will help unite a broad range of specialists and public figures in the interests of the comprehensive study of the planet Earth.

The cooperation between many states in studying the earth's resources, conducting space-based environmental surveys, and using satellite communications for extensive humanitarian and technical purposes constitutes a graphic example of the effective concentration of international efforts. I am sure that the future of space exploration lies not in star wars but in fruitful work to meet the urgent needs of the peoples of all countries—large and small, West and East, North and South.

Having recently celebrated in conjunction with other countries the 30th anniversary of man's first space flight, the Soviet Union is willing to continue to participate actively in international space programs for the benefit of man and the whole world community.

I wish the participants in the Moscow forum creative success.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev

Foreign Ministry Press Briefing Reported

U.S. Officials Visit

LD1805112691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1455 GMT 17 May 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 17 May (TASS)—Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, opened today's briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center with an official report on the visit to the USSR by Curtis Kamman, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, and his assistant, P. Goble. He said that these two U.S. State Department representatives, who had come to the Soviet Union in connection with a mission to the American Embassy in Moscow, were granted the opportunity to make a fact-finding tour of the Baltic.

Today, 17 May, Vitaliy Churkin said, Curtis Kamman was received by USSR Deputy Foreign Ministers Valentin Nikiforov and Boris Chaplin. An exchange of views took place on a number of topical problems in Soviet-American relations, and some issues connected with the situation in the USSR were also touched upon. During the conversation, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stated, it was noted, in particular, that the start of meetings of delegations from the USSR and the Baltic republics, set up to discuss the whole range of political, social, and economic matters, played a great, constructive part in normalizing the atmosphere surrounding the question of the situation in those republics. [passage omitted]

During the briefing, Vitaliy Churkin gave an assessment of the latest act of defilement of the memorial tank in Prague, which symbolizes the part played by the Soviet Union in liberating Czechoslovakia from Hitlerite fascism. The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman described the event as a "loathsome act of political hooliganism," saying that, according to information reaching Moscow, "this time it was a group of deputies from the Czechoslovak parliament who indulged in this sort of prank, with the connivance of a crowd".

'Alarming Reports' From Afghanistan

LD1705165991 Moscow TASS in English 1644 GMT 17 May 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin at today's briefing drew the attention of journalists to alarming reports from Afghanistan. There are signs that in some regions of the country rebels helped by Pakistan plan to continue bloodshed, Churkin said.

Reports have been published recently about hostilities outside Qandahar.

As for our part, the spokesman said, we made enquiries about the obtaining situation there. As of today, it can be described as stable although Qandahar has been submitted to rocket bombardment. Nevertheless, the very appearance of such reports, clearly originating from the quarters linked to the armed opposition, is disquieting.

Judging by these reports and other data, the spokesman said, rebels are actually cherishing plans for assault on Qandahar with direct assistance from Pakistan.

But hopes to solve the Afghan problem by military force remain absolutely groundless. The recent capture of Khowst by rebel forces has not changed the overall situation in the country. The present plans for Qandahar stem from the same adventure-seeking approach. Attempts to translate these plans into reality can give the Afghan people nothing apart from additional grief and suffering.

A recent statement by the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Churkin said, notes that what is now needed most of all is a sober-minded approach to the Afghan problem undiluted by any ambitions.

A political solution to this problem is the call of the day. If rebels eventually launch an offensive against Qandahar it would mean an open violation of the Geneva accords by Pakistan, another obstacle to the political settlement.

Petrovskiy on Moscow CSCE Humanitarian Forum

LD1705150891 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT 17 May 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Goergiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—Participants in the third session of the CSCE conference on human dimension aim to contribute to combining efforts to ensure the primacy of law throughout the European space, to enhance the significance of the individual as the supreme value and give a new impetus to further development of partners' cooperation in the European home, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy told a briefing here today.

The briefing was attended by members of the commission to prepare a CSCE humanitarian forum to be held in Moscow from September 10 to October 4 (the first session was held in Paris in May-June 1989 and the second one in Copenhagen in June 1990).

"Within the CSCE context, Paris, Copenhagen, and Moscow are not simply geographical notions. These are new landmarks of the all-European process, elevating it to a qualitatively new level," Petrovskiy said.

"We come to see for ourselves now that the elaboration of common legal norms throughout the geographical space encompassing the states involved in the Helsinki process is one of pivotal directions of the building of a common European home.

"Both international law and domestic law brought into line with the former plays the role of an in-built stabiliser of civilised contacts between states and the life of civil societies.

"Strengthening stability through law cements the steadiness of the all-European cooperation in all parameters—military-and-political, economic and humanitarian—and makes it possible to ensure not only the balance of forces but also the harmony of interests.

"The three-stage humanitarian conference is associated with the assertion of a new concept of the CSCE human dimension, which was put forward during the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting," Petrovskiy said.

"The concept signifies the turn of the Helsinki process towards the individual, his or her dignity, vital interests and concerns, and places the human being at the centre of all-European accords," he pointed out.

According to Petrovskiy, the CSCE human dimension also highlights the importance of social justice, for not a single society can feel at ease as long as there are people who have not found a place for themselves.

The humanitarian component of the CSCE process presupposes not only dialogue between governments but also large-scale cooperation between non-governmental organisations, Petrovskiy said.

At present, the fulfilment of obligations that states take upon themselves becomes an object of both care and monitoring on the part of those for the sake of whom they are elaborated. Herein is yet another facet of the Helsinki process, he added.

"This is why we attach much importance to parallel public activities that will take place in Moscow simultaneously with the conference's official session. To us, parallel activities serve both as good advice and the generator of new ideas and proposals," Petrovskiy emphasised.

Moscow CSCE Human Dimension Talks Previewed

LD2005093591 Moscow TASS in English 0906 GMT 20 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow May 20 TASS—More than 800 non-governmental organisations will take part in parallel public functions to be held in Moscow simultaneously with the third CSCE Human Dimension Conference, Vladimir Zaytsev, an official of the secretariat for holding parallel functions, told TASS.

The European Humanitarian Forum is to be held in Moscow from September 10 to October 4 (the first meeting was convened in Paris in May-June 1989 and the second in Copenhagen in June 1990).

According to Zaytsev, the future meeting of non-governmental organisations in Moscow will help official diplomacy in its efforts to ensure the human dimension of the CSCE process. After all, the "human dimension" presupposes the active participation of public forces in the creation of a common space in Europe, embracing the law, economy, ecology, information and culture.

The parallel functions will include two- or three-day long conferences, roundtable meetings and seminars. There will be meetings with cultural celebrities, exhibitions, concerts and film previews. The secretariat plans to mail a draft programme of such functions to Soviet and foreign non-governmental organisations early in June.

The topics that will be discussed during the Moscow parallel functions include human rights and liberties, including intellectual freedom, protection of human dignity, status of national minorities and small nations, protection of the rights and interests of vulnerable population groups, role of human rights organisations, problems of migration, refugees, coversion and human rights.

Russian Foreign Minister Leads Delegation to UN

LD1905134991 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 19 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations May 19 TASS—"Although we have arrived in New York quite recently, we have already held a series of meetings with representatives of a number of U.N. member nations," Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who leads a Soviet delegation to the spring session of the U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), told journalists.

"Everyone, of course, wants to know the state of affairs in the Soviet Union, whether the domestic tension would lead to any further complications, at the United Nations in particular, and whether we intend subsequently to ensure republics' representation at the United Nations without shaking the foundations of the world body," he said.

"The fact that a Soviet delegation to the ECOSOC session is led by Russia's minister has been viewed as a positive factor. This has been regarded as an illustration that we are beginning to find civilised solutions to complex issues.

"It is a question of raising the level of republican participation within the USSR mission at the United Nations. I refer to republican representatives' participation, organised in a new way, in the USSR's delegations as 'constructive parallelism', i.e. each of them tackles matters of all-Union importance and at the same time represents his republic.

"The Russian leadership proceeds from the need to delineate the spheres of activity between the centre and republics," Kozyrev stressed. "As far as representation at the United Nations is concerned, Russia does not raise this question so far," he added.

'World This Week' Program Analyzes Issues

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["The World This Week: International Observers at the Roundtable" program, presented by Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, with Aleksandr Yevgenyevich Bovin, IZVESTIYA political observer; and political observer Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin]

[Text] [Levin] Hello, esteemed comrades. We would like to start our discussion today by summing up the results of the visit to Moscow, to the Soviet Union, by the Chinese leader, Jiang Zemin. Today his visit to our country comes to an end. Then we will talk about other international affairs that happened this week.

The Chinese leader's visit. I will say right away that it is significant, because of a whole number of factors, and it is appropriate to recall here that the previous visit to the Soviet Union by such a high-ranking Chinese leader took place in 1957.

[Bovin] You almost feel like singing: "Stalin and Mao are listening to us..."

[Levin] Well, Stalin and Mao have not been listening to us for a long time, and we no longer sing.

[Bovin, interrupting] It became almost a folk song, by the way. People sang it very enthusiastically; it wasn't like something imposed. One felt it was something that people held dear—"Moscow-Beijing, Moscow-Beijing"—it was a very popular song.

[Shishlin] As was the very cause of Chinese-Soviet friendship, Soviet-Chinese cooperation.

[Bovin] That is right.

[Shishlin] I think, by the way, that Jiang Zemin's visit to the Soviet Union creates good bases for developing Soviet-Chinese relations in every field, and I think that all in all the trend toward improving Soviet-Chinese cooperation has already become stable—this is confirmed by the Chinese leader's visit to Moscow and the talks he held with Gorbachev.

[Bovin] And it is already happening in practice. These relations are real, they already exist in themselves, so to speak, irrespective of visits.

[Shishlin] Indeed. I see Soviet-Chinese relations as if made up of two parts. One part is totally positive; it is concerned with cooperation, collaboration, and so on. And this is under way, in politics, in economics, in the field of culture, sports, and so on and so forth.

[Levin] We should also recall here the agreement that in fact we have regulated our border along 7,000 km.

[Shishlin] That is just what I wanted to say. But there is another part to our relations, a negative part, because we should not think that the period of hostility and alienation between the Soviet Union and China has not left any mark. Some hitches, welts, and scars remain. And what you said about the signing of the agreement on the eastern sector of the Soviet-Chinese border—that is one more hitch removed, a very important one—although I think there are still some big hitches there. After all, the Soviet Union invested enormous resources in the creation of all kinds of military facilities in the Far East, in the taiga, in the swamps, through horrendous efforts and horrendous expenditure.

[Levin] But when Comrade Yazov recently visited China, he said we have pillboxes dating back to the thirties there. But that is along the border. He was not speaking about what there is 100 km further back.

[Shishlin] Well, I think Comrade Yazov is right; there are probably pillboxes from the thirties still there. But I think they have been augmented by other, more modern facilties. As I say, it is very important that those hitches are being overcome. What does it mean when hitches are overcome, when scars heal? It means that new horizons open up, new room for cooperation. But cooperation presupposes not only goodwill, but also ability to cooperate. It is very important now for our agencies to take care of this, and following the Chinese leader's visit, we have probably all noticed that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev pointed out to the leaders of all Soviet agencies the necessity of giving a concrete content to that which we call Soviet-Chinese collaboration.

[Bovin] There are two aspects here, so to speak. There is the state level—Moscow-Beijing. But there is also another very interesting aspect, which is perhaps not so easily noticeable from Moscow. This is what is called local trade; for instance, the Far East and Manchuria, Heilongjiang. You can see this if you go to Khabarovsk, you can see it right there in the shops. They have their own agreements, their own contracts, and their own (?problems) too. But they manage to see each other, to buy things, to sell things. For instance, a Chinese restaurant is opening in Khabarovsk, a Khabarovsk restaurant—in Mukden, I think. So there is movement there precisely in the field of consumer goods, those that the people need.

[levin] Especially today.

[Bovin] Especially today. And that too is a very businesslike, concrete, necessary, and useful thing for everyday life. Of course, there are also major political things about which today we speak less than we should. That is, a comparison between the processes that are under way inside the Soviet Union and China. Because one could just say: That is the Soviet Union's internal affairs, that is China's internal affairs. One could say that, and put a period there. But that is not a realistic period, because it is precisely on what is taking place internally that the future relations between the countries depend. Are these internal reforms going to take us further apart or, on the contrary, bring us closer together? That is the real problem.

When you observe things now, you see a very interesting picture developing. We began with perestroyka in our country, while over there they call it reform; we use different words for it, although essentially it is the same thing. A principal common feature, a fundamental one is that both China and Moscow say: This is a modernization of socialism, this is implementation of socialism, this is not a retreat from socialism. That is both Moscow's and Beijing's position in principle.

But within that there are different things. The Chinese say the following—So far for them things have not work out with democracy, things have not worked out with glasnost—you remember all those tragic events two years ago. And they have adopted the following general position: The main thing at the moment is political stability in the country. Economic reforms can only be pursued in conditions of political stability. That is why, in practice, they have gone back a fairly long way, in the political aspect, by strengthening the role of the party—they practically have a party monopoly of power; the theme of the leading role of the Communist Party, of communists' authority, is being pursued very firmly. All in all there is, let us say, an absence of political and ideological pluralism. There is no doubt about that. That is the background of stability.

On this background they are embroidering various economic patterns. Here they initially gathered a fairly high speed, but then, when they collided with inflation—we too will be colliding with it soon—they throttled back and reduced speed, that is, to a great extent they returned to centralized administration of the economy, especially of the basic industries. The more important the economic sector, the greater is the centralization and less free play of economic forces. That is what in general their pyramid of priorities looks like.

In our country the situation is different. In democracy we have lunged ahead—glasnost, freedom of the press—this is the true front of perestroyka, which is proceeding at the head of everything, and against this background there is the chaos and lagging behind of the economy. This is where difficulties arise. Without which can you survive longer—without sausage or without freedom? That is how crudely this question appears among millions of people. And here we have a major problem and various sorts of risks.

[Shishlin] But Sasha, I do not think we have real democracy.

[Bovin] Well, Nikolay, all these things are relative.

[Shishlin] I understand, but in any case, we have the process of creating democracy. I agree that we have that...

[Bovin, interrupting] But of course. That is right.

[Shishlin] But it is all fairly (?crude still).

[Bovin] Of course, when compared to other countries. But by comparison to what we had 10 years ago, it is like heaven and earth. Go to a newspaper kiosk, for instance, and pick up a newspaper to read, you will find...

[Levin interrupting] You can read anything you like there.

[Bovin] That is right, the poor Chinese have nothing on us. But they say: We have stability, we have order, everyone is working here, our economy grows every year. And indeed, their economy is growing fairly fast every year. Admittedly they are still in the period of extensive growth. They have an expansion in the number of enterprises, an expansion in the number of workers. But we exhausted this road a long time ago; we simply cannot follow this road. Now we have to think, to compare these roads. They began with agriculture. That was a priority direction. They dissolved the people's communes without regard for any ideological (?considerations), they simply dissolved them.

[Levin] And they gave the peasants freedom.

[Bovin] Land and freedom, to coin a phrase. They transferred the whole thing to leasing, and everything, or at least many things, began to move. But we so far have been cautious over this.

[Levin] Well, I believe that in our country this is now the main bone of contention.

[Bovin] It is hard for us to draw any conclusions about this, we are not economists.

[Shishlin] But the Chinese still have peasants.

[Bovin] That is right, they have not had time to put them through the purgatory of collectivization. They do not yet have villages where half the houses are boarded up. But we have one of these on top of another, if we look at the northern part of our country.

So, why am I saying all this here? These would appear to be subjects that are not being closely discussed during the visit. But in fact, this is where the future of Soviet-Chinese relations lies. It depends on how things go in our country and in their country—I repeat—are we going to get closer in some things, or move further apart? Or are we finally going to learn not to get upset if one side does things one way and another side a different way, and not get offended at one another if, for instance, I do not like something in China—I write about it and the Chinese sometimes take offence? Sometimes it is the other way around. So, let us calmly discuss problems. That is a theme which is incidental to the visit, so to speak, but a theme that has to exist.

[Levin] I think that—of course, the fact that over the last two years the political situation in China has become harsher, notwithstanding—the Chinese also looked at many things more openly than we did. This, of course, results from a whole number of reasons, from the fact that their road from the past to the future, or at least to the present, was shorter. But even, say, a question such as attracting foreign capital...

[Bovin, interrupting] In this respect they are significantly ahead of us.

[Levin] And they, while they reiterate ideological arguments, do not hold onto them all that firmly when these arguments clash with real life. On the eve of the visit, for instance, our RABOCHAYA GAZETA interviewed Comrade Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the Soviet Union, and asked him what, I feel, was a traditional question for that paper. The question went: "We all know that China is actively involved in attracting foreign capital, and that its free economic zones are being actively developed. Do you not fear that they may become a breeding ground of capitalism?" Well, I would say that from my point of view that is not a very sensible way of phrasing a question, but there it was. And the answer was very sensible: "We are importing advanced foreign technologies and financial resources, not the capitalist system of government." Whereas we, in respect to this question, keep tripping over and bruising ourselves. I will not even mention the fact that quite often we behave in such a way that if that is how things carry on, foreigners will simply be afraid to invest resources in our economy.

[Shishlin] On the other hand, as I understand, any businessman who is interested in developing business relations with the Soviet Union takes a certain risk and is prepared to take that risk. There is also much political interest—I am digressing now from the Soviet-Chinese summit—there is much political interest. No one is interested in the failure of the Soviet Union, in the disintegration of the Soviet Union, a nuclear power. That is why I think it is appropriate to say here that the U.S. Congress has spoken with encouragement about the intention of the U.S. Administration to allocate $1.5 billion for urgent food aid for the Soviet Union.

[Bovin] The Chinese, by the way, are also offering us credits to that end.

[Levin] That's right.

[Shishlin] I think we should recall here Francois Mitterrand's recent visit. He, to my mind, is manifesting very serious concern over the state of things in the Soviet Union, and showing interest in strengthening the position of the Soviet president, in strenghtening the position of the supporters of the Soviet Union's renewal. In this context, strictly speaking, lies the idea Gorbachev formulates as the creation of a pan-European home, while Mitterrand voices this in a somewhat different manner. But the sense is the same. It is the construction of a single Europe, a Europe of cooperation, a Europe of peace and a Europe of stability. It is the last one of these—this foreign word, stability—which unfortunately is absent in eastern Europe, and is absent in our country right now. So naturally such visits as that by the Chinese leader and the good results of the visit contribute toward improving the situation in our country. I understand that this mainly depends on our own efforts, on the efforts of our leadership, the efforts of our people, the workers, the peasants, the intelligentsia. But quite simply, external support is vitally necessary for the process of renewal in the Soviet Union to develop successfully.

[Bovin] You somehow feel more comfortable when you know we have good relations with China. After all, it is our rear, whichever way you look at it. It is an enormous border, 7,000 km, and if what you have there...

[Levin interrupting] Seven thousand is only the part that has been regulated.

[Bovin] That is right. When people are looking at us unfavorably, so to speak, one gets a completely different feeling, like when we were feuding with the Chinese. But now things are more comfortable.

[Shishlin] And this, by the way, is a great pain, the improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations.

[Bovin] But of course.

[Shishlin] We have spoken about this on many occasions, and of course the hostility, the anger, the outright savagery which reined...

[Levin interrupting] Things went as far as shedding of blood.

[Shishlin continuing] ...are unacceptable.

[Levin] We all remember the [word indistinct]. But I would like to return to the subject you just mentioned—U.S. credit and the development of Soviet-American relations. I believe that the telephone conversation, the very substantive telephone conversation between Mikhail Sergeyevich and George Bush, has lately, to some extent, become a turning point. What I mean is that—I would very much like to have been wrong—but I had a feeling that Soviet- American relations, if not quite rolling down an incline, a certain coolness could be felt in them. But after the conversation there is a new warming, a new development is clearly visible. The issue of the summit meeting is again being raised in quite concrete terms.

[Shishlin] Simply because it is needed, Viktor. Both the Soviet Union and the United States need equal relations, relations of cooperation. This is what I think in this context. No less essential, alongside the conversation with the U.S. President, are the latest contacts over the Middle East, at foreign minister level—that is, contacts between Bessmertnykh and Baker. In this case it is good that our foreign policy agency has finally followed the U.S. example and is taking an active position in the Middle East.

[Bovin] Admittedly the activity in this case relates to a situation which is impossible to solve. You know, it is a bit like riding a bike which is standing still, you know, one of those stationary bikes.

[Levin] An exercise bike!

[Bovin] An exercise bike. You sit on it, turn the pedals, you become highly active, but the bike stays in place.

[Levin] That is a very pessimistic view.

[Bovin] I think it is realistic. All right, Baker went there four times. I simply feel sorry for him, because I can imagine what it means to go four times in two months around the Middle East, trying to convince them all—you know, let us sit down and talk—and to hear no from everyone. Then Bessmertnykh went there and, I am sorry to say, he made a repeat performance—but just once. Fine, so there were five trips in total. What has changed over this period? Israel's readiness? Not in the least. The Arabs' readiness? Not in the least. All right, Saudi Arabia agreed to sit down and talk, along with the Gulf countries. But not much depends on that country, while the positions of Syria and Israel, the main actors, do not change at all. One could say: What is the great obstacle? The role of the United Nations, for instance. Syria says: Let us have talks under the aegis of the United Nations. But Israel says: No, because the United Nations holds an anti-Israeli position, referring to the well-known resolution that Zionism is a form of racism. And you could very well ask: What is the big deal, let us try it. But they say no.

[Shishlin] Well, I must admit that I am not that pessimistic about...

[Bovin interrupting] I am not pessimistic, I am very realistic. By the end of the twentieth century nothing will have changed there. Although—and herein lies the tragic element of diplomacy: If you are a Soviet foreign minister, you have to go there every year—the same, for instance, if you are Baker—and assume that the problem can be solved. I, a journalist, can say that the problem is unsolvable. But were I a foreign minister I would be obliged to go and start trying to solve it. We have different frames of reference, if you like.

[Levin] You know, I have the impression that Baker's and Bessmertnykh's trips show that indeed the situation is not hopeless. There is no denying it is difficult, that today the positions are rather far apart. But let us put it like this: Our activities are being welcomed by all.

[Bovin] Certainly.

[Levin] And everyone says yes, we're for a settlement. That is also some sort of credit balance. For the rest, no doubt what is needed is not just one visit, and not just once a year, but...

[Bovin, interrupting] Yes, that is just what I am saying, that all this is necessary.

[Levin] But the opportunity is there, and we must take it.

[Bovin] Everything is possible that does not conflict with the laws of physics. In that sense, even this is possible. But no more.

[Levin] During his trip, Bessmertnykh said somewhere—I do not remember in which capital, because he moved very fast from one city to another—that the history of the Near East is a history of missed opportunities. Well, now we want to take all the opportunities.

[Bovin] If an opportunity has been missed, you cannot take it.

[Levin] Those that have been missed cannot be taken, but...

[Bovin, interrupting] But we can seize others.

[Levin] Quite right.

[Shishlin] But I think no one will contest that since the Gulf war, the political landscape in the Near East does look different.

[Bovin]l It does look different, of course.

[Levin] It looks different.

[Bovin] Because 'Arafat is now going around in a different guise, and...

[Levin, interrupting] That is relevant.

[Bovin] Very relevant. But to whose advantage has the landscape changed? Israel, by the way, has scored points, because all appreciate the restraint the Jews showed in not retaliating for those rocket attacks by Iraq, and not provoking a big fight. That too was a change. [words indistinct]

Saudi Arabia let in half a million Americans. That is a most fundamental change. (?It is a big change in Muslim attitudes). Of course it has changed. But all these changes, do they bring a solution nearer? That is another question, and I do not think they do—even though these are, of course, great changes.

[Levin] But in any case it does not take us further away from a solution.

[Bovin] No, of course not. Certainly, work is needed.

[Levin] Since we clearly do not agree on this, let's move on and note as a fact (?clear to) the journalists present here, that the Near East situation has developed. If there were problems only in the Near East—though probably there are no more acute problems anywhere—things would be easier. But there are also problems, unfortunately, and this is something we have talked about more than once, and the problems remain—in our relations with eastern European countries, with our former friends, brothers, and allies; and they are very difficult, these problems.

[Bovin] Yes, they are difficult, but what is the gist of the problem? We say now, economic exchange only on the basis of freely convertible currency. Everyone has said that with one voice—and blocked, in effect, economic contacts. So, I don't know, I'm no economist. But whether it is a matter of finding some transition period, transitional measures...[changes thought] but they have simply blocked...[changes thought] We have no foreign currency, and neither do they.

[Shishlin] Though that is the most interesting detail.

[Levin] We announced the transition to trade with freely convertible currency without having any currency.

[Bovin] And everything suddenly started going downhill. That is the first point. And if we take the political aspect of the matter, well, the Warsaw Pact has gone. But the problem now is this: To replace the existing pact system of relations with something else: not socialist, but based on international law. [passage indistinct] Now we are beginning to do this.

The first sign is the Soviet-Romanian treaty. By the way, for some reason it was signed on 5 April, but still has not been published. That is another curious detail. Usually we publish them, but it still has not been published. And so, now it has to be ratified. It does not contain any of the usual phrases about friendship, internationalism; there is none of that in it. Rather, it (?stresses) international law as a basis. Well, in Romania at the moment there is a big fight going on. The opposition is against ratification. Why? Because the treaty includes a clause stating that the sides have no territorial claims against each other. And the opposition says: What about Bessarabia? Why should we give up our native Romanian Bessarabia? So there is a great debate going on there in the press, and so on, as to whether or not to ratify it.

As there is a clear majority in the parliament, the parliament will pass it, let us assume. But it is a complicated business. Now, the next treaties are being prepared, with all the sides. The Romanian treaty also has a clause to the effect that the sides undertake not to join any groupings hostile to each other. There is nothing terrible about that, you might think. But our colleagues, our friends, in Bulgaria, or the Czechs, say: Why? It looks as if our sovereignty were being restricted. What business is it of yours where we...

[Levin interrupting]...that the treaty restricts their sovereignty.

[Bovin] Well, yes. They say: You just cannot give up your former somewhat imperial ideology and try to foist on us your approach to the problem. This also makes the situation more difficult. Plus all kinds of internal national problems there. The idea arises of some central grouping there—of the Poles, Czechs, and Hungarians—some sort of triangle. Or a pentagonal—an Adriatic-Danube grouping. Or a Balkan grouping. These are the ideas for formations of various kinds that are in the air. Well, of course there is nothing so terrible about that, it can all be accommodated in the framework of a general European home, as it were: Not against, but for each other.

[Shishlin] In the last year or two they have been showing that the emergence of the new is indeed a very punishing and painful process—that in itself, our neighbors' switching onto new rails is far more difficult—well, far more dramatic than had been imagined in the days of the velvet and nonvelvet revolutions. Even as we let the ideas of perestroyka go to our heads, and believe that the development of the national economy, it turned out...

[Bovin, interrupting] (?In two or three years, we have not succeeded).

[Levin] It is not all infinitely more complicated, infinitely more difficult. In this case we of course do not yet have at our disposal the precious experience that is needed for us to find the one correct solution.

[Shishlin] Coming back to where we started—to the visit of the Chinese leader to our country—I think this visit and the summit talks ought to serve as a good example to us of how to act.

[Levin] And I think the less we cling to ideological postulates, and note that in one place there is capitalism, whereas in another socialism seems to be developing, everything will be quite different. And if there will be capitalism in Poland, it will not be the capitalism Marx wrote about, and which some of our, well, ultraconservative figures are so afraid of.

[Bovin, interrupting] Fundamentalists.

[Levin] Yes, life goes forward, and we have to learn from it.

[Bovin] If it goes backward, it goes forward just the same. That is what I would say.

[Levin] Good. We can learn on a mutual basis, and draw experience from it. That will probably be the greatest wisdom that we must fully attain, and not consider ourselves to be in possession of some final truth.

There we end our conversation. You have been listening to "The World This Week." Goodbye, esteemed comrades.

Prospects for Mediterranean Cooperation Analyzed

PM1705151991 Moscow VOYENNYY VESTNIK in Russian No. 6-7, Mar-Apr 91 pp 1-3

[Article by Sergey Sereda, associate of the USSR Foreign Ministry: "Four-Party Initiative on the Question of Convening a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean as an Instrument of Strengthening Stability"]

[Text] In March 1991 Italy, Spain, France, and Portugal circulated a joint document setting out the main considerations regarding the possibility of convening a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean [CSCM]. The joint document of "the four" was circulated to the United States, the EEC, most countries in the Near East, and countries belonging to the Gulf Cooperation Council and the Maghreb. On 13 March, on instructions from their governments, the ambassadors of the four states handed the document to the Soviet side.

There is no doubt that the idea of using a CSCM to discuss the whole package of problems affecting the region coincides with the Soviet Union's fundamental approach to strengthening security in general and security in the Mediterranean in particular. The Soviet Union works on the basis that this general process must incorporate parallel measures to settle conflict situations, eliminate hotbeds of tension, lower the level of military confrontation, strengthen trust between Mediterranean and other states, and develop fruitful regional cooperation in the political, economic, environmental, scientific, humanitarian, and other spheres.

It seems advisable, as proposed in the document, to make parallel progress "in various baskets" on the basis of the CSCE experience. At the same time, no inflexible linkage should be made between progress in various "baskets" concerning the strengthening of security and the development of cooperation in the Mediterranean. On the contrary, the participants should show readiness to tackle questions offering the simplest solution with no strings attached.

On a practical level, discussing the questions of building confidence and developing cooperation in the region will obviously be especially important. General improvement in the political climate in this region could create more favorable conditions for implementing measures in the military-political sphere in the future.

The main problem now, in our view, is to include the Near East in the CSCM's sphere of interest, and also to make the conference mechanism responsible—perhaps by way of an additional structure—for participation in settling postcrisis situations in the Persian Gulf and resolving the Palestinian problem. Evidently we also need to study the question of the correlation between the UN mechanism for settling conflicts and the future CSCM mechanism so that they complement and mutually enrich one another rather than coming into conflict and hampering the solution to problems concerning the Mediterranean.

As a whole, we can assess positively the CSCM's main task, which consists of initiating a process of gradual, long-term discussion of the region's problems and implementing a plan of cooperation and security that could lead to the adoption of a code of principles and rules of conduct and coexistence in the region. The UN Charter could certainly serve as a source for drawing up these rules, as could analysis of the CSCE experience and the specific conditions of the region.

The conditions for accords on implementing measures to build confidence and monitor the proliferation of mass destruction weapons, ending the arms race, and initiating Israeli-Palestian dialogue and economic and humanitarian cooperation would be created within the framework of this process.

The basis for developing the CSCM would be the participants' recognition of the "set" of principles governing mutual relations that has been given the seal of approval in Europe: Respect for states' territorial integrity; inviolability of borders ("the four" believe that the question of mutual recognition of borders with regard to Israel needs further study); nonaggression; and so forth. States in the Persian Gulf and Black Sea regions, countries belonging to the EEC, and also the United States and the Soviet Union could take part in the CSCM process.

A new and important feature in the stand taken by "the four"—readiness to create regional mechanisms for settling conflicts—is interesting. Considerable importance also attaches to the fact that now is the time when the nature and direction of the future development of events in the region are largely being decided.

The United States' obvious desire to dominate in the postcrisis period in the Persian Gulf introduces new features to "the four's" idea of convening a CSCM. In the short time that has passed since the discussion between the Americans and West Europeans in October 1990 at the CSCE Conference on the Mediterranean, this idea has begun to make headway within the EEC framework. The "understanding of the need for a global approach to all the problems of the Mediterranean, Near East, and Persian Gulf," enshrined in the EEC declaration of 19 February 1991 in Luxemburg, can be seen as fundamentally important. There are differences of attitude, however, within the framework of "the twelve." Whereas countries like the FRG, Belgium, and Greece are sympathetic to the idea of a CSCM, Britain is skeptical. Turkey is now showing considerably stronger interest in a CSCM. The Yugoslavs and Maltese are actively prepared to become involved. In view of the developing process of "the nine" (France, Portugal, Italy, Spain, and the five Maghreb countries), preconditions exist for including both the western and eastern Mediterranean in a political dialogue.

As a whole, steps to begin implementing the CSCM idea would help to create the requisite political and psychological climate and to contribute to establishing trust for the purpose of resolving complex, diverse problems. If this idea can be translated into practical policies, it could—like the Helsinki process in Europe—become an active factor that will influence the development of all aspects of the situation in the Mediterranean and Near East region in the future.

United States & Canada

IZVESTIYA on Gates' 'Hard-Line Views'

PM1705211591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 May 91 Union Edition p 6

[Correspondent A. Blinov report: "Sovietologist Becomes CIA Director. R. Gates To Head U.S. Intelligence Department"]

[Text] Washington—A "skeptic with hard-line [tverdyy] views" was how THE NEW YORK TIMES described Robert Gates, who has been appointed CIA director by U.S. President G. Bush.

The 47-year-old Robert Gates is a career U.S. intelligence officer. He has spent his career in the CIA and the National Security Council [NSC]. Starting as an intelligence analyst, Gates soon found himself on the promotion fast track, becoming a member of the U.S. delegation at the Soviet-U.S. strategic arms talks in 1971. Various postings in leading jobs in the CIA and a job on the NSC then followed quickly upon each other.

In 1986-1989 Gates was first deputy director of the CIA. In the Bush administration Gates became deputy to B. Scowcroft, the U.S. national security adviser. In this capacity he headed up an interdepartmental group—the deputy heads of department committees—coordinating foreign policy (the group included representatives from the State Department, Defense Department, the CIA, and a number of other government organizations).

Within the U.S. bureaucracy the CIA director is most often called the director of central intelligence. He not only heads the CIA but also coordinates the activities of other intelligence services, including military intelligence, the NSA (decoding and radio intercepts), and the assessment administration (satellite and airborne intelligence gathering). According to U.S. press information, the "intelligence community" budget has reached $30 billion a year.

The CIA has been headed by outside chiefs—President Bush was one such political appointee—and by its own officers. Gates is one of the latter category. Moreover, he is the first head of U.S. intelligence to be a professional Soviet specialist. In 1974, when he was already an intelligence officer, he defended a doctoral dissertation at Georgetown University on Russian and Soviet history.

THE NEW YORK TIMES notes that Gates' "hard-line views" apply precisely to this sphere of his professional knowledge. At the very beginning of his duties as Scowcroft's deputy Gates publicly expressed his skepticism about perestroyka in the USSR, which—commentators have been noting, incidentally—to a certain extent coincided with the then view of President Bush. Gates even pursued this line after the administration "made its mind up" about the USSR, setting its sights on cooperation between the two countries. In one instance U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker even had to veto the draft of a Gates speech which he found to contain excessively "hard-line" opinions about the Soviet Union. Incidentally, Gates has been more balanced in his speeches of late. Nonetheless, commentators believe that Gates' ideological prejudice provides grounds for doubting President Bush's assurances that his new appointee will not try to "influence the formulation of the administration's political course."

The appointment of a CIA director has to be ratified by the Senate. This explains the "delay" in deciding on Gates' candidacy—President Bush, it is reported, was sounding out the opinion of influential senators, mainly members of the Senate Committee on Intelligence.

The fact is that "there are questions" about Gates. During the major "Irangate" political scandal during the Reagan administration it was revealed that then CIA Director W. Casey was involved in it. Officially his deputy, Gates, was not involved in "Irangate." But he was one of the people who compiled Casey's draft evidence to the Senate committee—a speech in which, it was later revealed, the true picture of CIA involvement in illegal operations was not revealed.

"We described what we knew at the given time," was how Gates himself explained his role in drawing up the document. This explanation was not enough to overcome the senators' skepticism. R. Reagan, who in his time had also expressed his intention to appoint Gates to replace Casey following the latter's sudden death, was then forced to withdraw his name.

Now influential senators, including D. Boren, chairman of the Senate Committee on Intelligence, are expressing support for Gates' candidacy. However, it is impossible to avoid talk of "Irangate." At the forthcoming Senate committee hearings Gates will have to repeat his answers to questions concerning his knowledge of the illegal operations of the time. Admittedly, the U.S. media are predicting that the hearings should not present any major obstacle to the ratification of the new CIA director. Provided, of course, as they say in America, they don't "open a can of worms" in the shape of new political sensations.

State Department's Kamman Meets Deputy Ministers

LD1705144291 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Ministers Valentin Nikiforov and Boris Chaplin received U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Curtis Kamman. They discussed urgent issues of Soviet-U.S. relations and also some issues related to the situation in the USSR.

Both sides expressed the view that the beginning of meetings between the delegations of the USSR and the Baltic republics to discuss a range of political, social and economic issues has a great constructive role to play in normalising the situation around these republics.

Officials To Leave for G-7 Meeting in U.S.

OW1705101291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] Soviet Deputy Premier Vladimir Shcherbakov and Yevgeniy Primakov, an aide to the Soviet President are shortly to fly to the U.S. for negotiations with seven industrialized nations [G-7] of the world on widening cooperation with the Soviet Union. The news came on May 16 at a press-conference given by V. Shcherbakov.

He said Soviet President Gorbachev and head of the Association for Foreign Politics, former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze "have been working intensely over a year to draw up a plan of cooperation with 'the big seven.'"

According to Shcherbakov, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, one of the authors of the economic reform plan known as "the 500 day program" who attended the Washington meeting of advisers of the seven nations in late April has found "an unofficial channel of cooperation with those forces in the U.S. who favour broader collaboration between the seven industrialized nations and the Soviet Union."

The popular weekly "MOSCOW NEWS" reports Grigoriy Yavlinskiy and Yevgeniy Primakov have sent a letter to heads-of-state of the seven nations containing a package of proposals for the West to help the USSR in implementing economic reforms. These include among others, the easing up of the regime of payments on Soviet foreign debt, USSR's admission to international economic organisations and the development of long-term investment programs.

Answering a question on the Presidential decree introducing a special regime of work of basic Soviet industries Vladimir Shcherbakov said "The decree has already been signed and hopefully will be issued shortly." (Under the Soviet law, Presidential decrees enter into force on the day of their publication—IF). The Soviet deputy premier said "the Declaration of the Ten" has originally suggested introduction of a special regime for some of the basic branches of industry, which brought into being the Presidential decree. Essentially, the decree is aimed at normalising supplies in these industries, reviewing prices on goods and raising the profitability of the industries. The enterprises will be allowed to sell up to 10

of their produce at market prices. The decree provides for a 5

increase in consumption for a 1

growth in goods production. The decree stipulates that persons disrupting the normal rhythm of work at these enterprises will be held liable and even face criminal charges. Efforts to disrupt "the normal rhythm of work" include strikes.

Shevardnadze More 'Optimistic' About Reforms

LD1805170591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1350 GMT 18 May 91

[Text] Former USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who is now in the United States, said that the danger of a dictatorship being estabished in the Soviet Union is now considerably less than was the case when he resigned last year. The former Soviet minister is in the United States on a lecture tour. According to a REUTER dispatch from San Francisco, Eduard Shevardnadze is quoted as saying that he is now much more optimistic that the reforms begun by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will continue.

Yeltsin Supporters Buy Washington Building

LD1905143391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 19 May 91

[Text] It is very likely that not all of you know that the American supporters of Boris Yeltsin have paid $700,000 for a four-story building near the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

It will serve as the political, business, and cultural center of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in the American capital.

The mission, occupied currently by the Embassy of Senegal, will not have diplomatic status, at least until Russia and Yeltsin receive official recognition by the White House.

Arrest in Murder of U.S. Envoy's Butler

LD1705111891 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—A man suspected of killing a butler, who served at the residence of the U.S. ambassador to Moscow, some two weeks ago has been arrested and confessed the crime, a Soviet newspaper reports today.

MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA says the suspect was apprehended after investigators established that Clemente Pandin and his Mosocw lawyer friend Lebedev were killed at the latter's flat by two soldiers from a military construction unit.

The man was arrested in the Kaliningrad region in the Baltics and confessed his crime, the newspaper says. It adds that a manhunt is on for the accomplice, who has already been identified.

A search at the detainee's flat produced proprty stolen from Lebedev's place. All indications are, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA says on the basis of evidence gathered in the case, that it has a "homosexual nature".

The investigation is continuing.

China

Jiang Zemin Delegation 17 May Activities Reported

Tours Auto Factory, Gives Speech

PM2005085791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 91 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meetings In Moscow"]

[Excerpt] On 17 May Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the PRC Central Military Council, began his program with a visit to the giant Moscow motor vehicle plant named for I.A. Likhachev. The Chinese leader has a particular interest in this enterprise: He was a trainee there in the 1950's.

Outside the main entrance to the plant management building the Chinese guest was greeted by Ye.A. Brakov, general director of the "ZIL" production association. Jiang Zemin laid flowers at the monument to V.I. Lenin and at the monument to plant workers who died fighting in the Great Patriotic War. He inspected the main assembly process and visited the plant's central heating and power plant, where he had worked many years before.

There were moving meetings there between the CPC Central Committee general secretary and his work colleagues from that period. Jiang Zemin greeted Nina Aleksandrovna Zhabina in Russian. She first came to the plant in 1948 and came to work today without suspecting what a pleasant surprise lay in store for her. She was in the plant's main switchboard room, where the current Chinese leader had once been a trainee.

I worked on the same shift as comrade Jiang Zemin, N.A. Zhabina said. We were all much younger then. We were all conscious of his precision and efficiency. No doubt this has helped him in his important work. It was very nice that he recognized me straight away, despite the passage of time!

After the plant inspection the "ZIL" leaders told the guest about the major changes that have taken place over the years at the enterprise, about its current activities and about the future.

On the same day, in the Kremlin's Sverdlovskiy Hall, Jiang Zemin met with representatives of the Soviet public.

Welcoming the guest, A.S. Dzasokhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee, member of the Politburo, and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said that the meeting symbolizes the enormous progress in relations between the two countries and the deepening of mutual understanding between our peoples. Introducing the audience to the guest, he noted that it reflected the entire spectrum of present-day Soviet-Chinese contacts and the potential for their further mutually advantageous development. The hall contained cultural and scientific figures, diplomats, sinologists, and working people from many organizations involved in bilateral relations. On behalf of the meeting the parliamentary committee chairman expressed the hope that the USSR and the PRC will continue to live in an atmosphere of friendship and good-neighborliness.

"China is striding toward the 21st century"—that was the title Jiang Zemin chose for his speech. I am very happy, he said, to have been able to respond to Comrade Gorbachev's kind invitation and come to the Soviet Union in May, at the very height of spring. Today's meeting with you is a particular pleasure and delight, since many of you, comrades and friends, are interested in China and know it well. I bring to the peoples of the Soviet Union friendly feelings and best wishes from the peoples of China. And although we have only two days with you, the exceedingly warm [goryachiy] reception we have been accorded by the Soviet leaders and representatives of the public is an opportunity to personally sense the sincerity of the Soviet people's feelings for the Chinese people.

The PRC leader expressed profound satisfaction with the positive new changes that have taken place in Chinese-Soviet relations in the past two years. The facts show, he continued, that the establishment and development of long-standing, stable relations of good-neighborliness and friendship between the two great socialist states—the PRC and the USSR—meet the fundamental interests of both our peoples, the interests of maintaining peace and stability worldwide. The presence of differing opinions and views as a result of historical and social differences and different levels of economic and cultural development in the two countries is, in our view, natural and normal, the speaker said. But one thing is important, he added. Which is that dissimilarities and differences should not affect the development of normal state relations.

Their healthy development over the past two years was due to the fact that both sides lay exceedingly great store by the normalization that has been established. It was also due to the fact that in interstate relations we observe the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, noninterference in one another's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful coexistence, and, in interparty relations, the principles of independence and autonomy, complete equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in one another's internal affairs. And we will actively seek to ensure the further strengthening and development of the great friendship between the two peoples.

Noting that mankind will enter the 21st century in less than 10 years' time, the guest stressed the key significance of this decade in the process of socialist modernization in his homeland. The speaker painted a detailed picture of the paths of development in the PRC and dwelt on the specific Chinese way of building socialism. He made no secret of the contradictions and problems on the path of modernization and talked frankly about the mistakes.

Pointing to the role of the CPC, Jiang Zemin said: The CPC is the leading nucleus of the Chinese people in the implementation of socialist modernization. The leading position of the CPC in China is a historical development; it is provided for in the constitution and it is acknowledged by the country's peoples. We will always firmly preserve and improve the party leadership.

Much space was given in the speech to the international situation. One of the main ideas was that for China to succeed in its socialist modernization it needs a peaceful international situation. China is prepared, the guest said, on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, to develop relations of friendship and cooperation with the countries of the world. We regard the strengthening and development of cohesion and cooperation with the states of the Third World as the main pillar of our foreign policy work.

There were fine words and deep respect for the Soviet Union. The enormous successes of the USSR peoples in over 70 years of socialist building cannot be expunged, the Chinese leader said, in particular.

In conclusion he called for joint efforts to preserve and strengthen relations of good-neighborliness and friendship between our countries, not only in this century, but in the next, 21st century.

After speaking Jiang Zemin went down from the presidium and had friendly conversations with meeting participants.

The Chinese leader summed up his stay in Moscow at a meeting with Soviet and foreign journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center.

Assessing the present talks with the Soviet leaders, the CPC Central Committee general secretary and PRC Central Military Council chairman stressed that both sides arrived at the same opinion: Relations based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence are developing and will continue to develop in the spirit of friendship and good-neighborliness. As for the international problems touched on at the talks, it transpired that the two sides' positions were close and similar in many respects.

Answering journalists' questions, Jiang Zemin noted, in particular, that the preparation of the Soviet-Chinese agreement concerning the eastern part of the border between the two countries, which was signed during the visit, had taken a great deal of time. If in the future both sides continue constructive consultations in the spirit of friendship, it will be possible to reach agreement on other questions connected with the Soviet-Chinese border.

Assessing USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's recent visit to Japan, he said that although the topic was not broached during the Soviet-Chinese talks, it must be stressed that as a result of the Soviet-Japanese summit talks the two countries managed to make headway in the development of their relations, and this is of great significance for the stabilization of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. [passage omitted]

Addresses Soviet People

LD1705203191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1849 GMT 17 May 91

[Address by Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee; Jiang speaks in Mandarin, with superimposed Russian translation—recorded; video shows Jiang seated at a desk, speaking directly to the camera]

[Text] Good evening, comrades and friends. I am grateful to the Central Television of the Soviet Union for the opportunity granted to me to meet you. First of all, permit me, on behalf of all the peoples of China, to convey to the Soviet people warm greetings and best wishes.

As is known, a summit between the leaders of China and the Soviet Union, which kept the attention of all the countries of the world riveted, took place in Beijing two years ago. During that meeting the two sides managed to close down the past and open up the future, and to effect the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. Since then there has been a noticeable development in our exchanges and cooperation in the political, economic, scientific and technical, military, cultural, and other spheres.

I have come to your country on an official visit at the invitation of President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. It is both a return visit and a continuation of the Beijing summit. Its aim is to give a new impetus to Sino-Soviet relations, which are growing day by day. During these days I have held an in-depth exchange of views with President Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders on bilateral relations and on major international problems of mutual interest. The talks were fruitful and helped us to deepen our mutual understanding. We expressed satisfaction in connection with the fact that relations between our two countries and parties have been developing well and in a stable fashion over these two years. We agree that enormous potential and broad prospects exist for exchanges and cooperation between China and the Soviet Union in all spheres. We are pleased with the total success of this visit.

The peoples of China and the Soviet Union are bound by deep, long-standing friendship. Even during the difficult years, years of trials for our relations, the feelings of sincere friendship never altered. The Chinese people will never forget the support and help of the Soviet people, and will always remember the Soviet comrades who gave up their strength, their talent, and even their lives for the Chinese people's cause of revolution and construction. I want to assure the Soviet people that the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government and people will continue to nurture the tree of friendship with care and diligence, so that it might grow with a luxuriant, evergreen crown.

During the course of the visit I and the Soviet leaders mutually exchanged information on the state of affairs in our own countries, as well as opinions on issues of mutual interest. Such friendly, sincere, and open conversations are extremely useful for both sides. We agree that matters in each country should be resolved by its people themselves, independently and autonomously, taking their specific character into account.

As we can see, the present time represents a complex and difficult transition period for the Soviet Union. We wish from the heart, and are sure that the great Soviet people who have made a huge contribution to the progress of humanity, and who possess glorious revolutionary traditions, will be able to overcome their temporary difficulties, and in the final analysis gain a victory in the matter of socialist perestroyka and construction.

The present period in international affairs is a complicated one, with a new structure replacing the old. The peoples of all the countries of the world are striving to establish a just and rational new international political and economic order. During the course of the talks the two sides conducted an exchange of opinions on the international situation and major international problems, which will facilitate the strengthening of mutual understanding.

As is known, the Chinese Government is firmly and immutably conducting independent and peaceful international policies. China is prepared to build and develop relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries of the world on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

China and the Soviet Union, as major neighbors and permanent members of the UN Security Council, bear a great responsibility for the maintenance of peace througout the world. The development of normal relations of good-neighborliness, friendship, and mutually advantageous cooperation between China and the Soviet Union is in keeping with the fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries, and with the interests of the maintenance of peace and stability in Asia and throughout the world. China is prepared, together with the Soviet Union and with all countries of the world, to apply tireless efforts toward establishing a new, just, and rational international order.

Comrades and friends, I and my colleagues have spent three splendid and joyful days in your country, and we met with a hearty welcome everywhere from the Soviet Government and the Soviet people. Taking this opportunity, I would like once more to express profound gratitude to them, and wish that friendship between our two peoples should always develop dynamically, like the swift waters of the Volga and Yangtze Rivers. I wish prosperity to the Soviet Union and happiness to its people.

Holds News Conference

LD1705174591 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 17 May 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev, Igor Peskov, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the Communist Party of China and chairman of China's Central Military Council, addressing a news conference in Moscow today upon the completion of official Soviet-Chinese high-level talks, positively assessed the future of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Jiang is at the head of a delegation that conducted intensive negotiations with Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR and general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee.

The Chinese delegation met with Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Valentin Pavlov, prime minister of the USSR, and ranking officials of the Soviet Communist Party. It had talks at the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations and the Defence Ministry of the USSR.

The sides signed an agreement on the eastern section of the Soviet-Chinese state border.

During the past three days, Jiang said, "we discussed with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev bilateral relations and other subjects of mutual interest." The sides also exchanged information about the domestic situation in the USSR and China.

The Chinese and Soviet sides, Jiang said, came to the unanimous conclusion that relations of friendship and good-neighbourhood, resting on five principles of peaceful co-existence, will continue to develop.

Commenting on the substance of talks on international issues, Jiang remarked that the positions of both sides have "many similar elements."

Asked by TASS to give the Chinese leadership's assessment of the world situation following the Gulf War, Jiang said that China "has pursued and is pursuing an independent, peaceful foreign policy."

"Each country should strive to find a way towards peace and development and apply efforts to attain these objectives," he said.

Asked about prospects of concluding a bilateral agreement on the western section of the Soviet-Chinese state border, Jiang replied that the sides may succeed in reaching agreement.

An agreement on the eastern section was signed during the visit, he said, and if the work continues in the same spirit of friendly consultations, the sides will reach accord regarding other issues related to the common border.

The sides did not advance the task of handling issues connected with military cooperation during the current visit, Jiang said. At the same time he pointed to the normal development of not only inter-state and inter-party ties, but also of trade and military relations.

On Soviet-Japanese relations, Jiang stressed their importance for "stabilising the situation in the Asia-Pacific region."

Asked if one can say that "friendship between the USSR and China has been fully restored to the 1950s level", Jiang said that ties between the two countries normalised in May 1989 following the meeting in Beijing between Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping.

The Chinese leader praised the fact that elements of confrontation that characterised Soviet-Chinese ties in the 1960s and 1970s were eliminated.

"I state with satisfaction that this visit has helped further advance friendly and good-neighbourly relations," Jiang pointed out in conclusion.

Meets Dzasokhov

LD1705211291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 17 May 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today, in the Sverdlovskiy Hall of the Kremlin, Jiang Zemin met representatives of the Soviet public. Welcoming the guest, Dzasokhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs, said the meeting marked enormous progress in relations between the two countries. Comrade Jiang Zemin in turn noted new breakthroughs in all spheres of Soviet-Chinese relations in the past two years. Among them, he said, were contacts between the leaders of the two countries and of their Communist Parties, the development of commercial and economic relations, and the expansion of exchanges in the spheres of science, culture, and education. The development of long-lasting and stable relations of goodneighborliness and friendship between the PRC and the USSR, Jiang Zemin said, is in the vital interests of the peoples of both countries and in the interests of maintaining peace and stability throughout the world.

Attends Concert

LD1705205291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 17 May 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This evening, Jiang Zemin, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva attended a concert in the Palace of Congresses at the Kremlin. The hall was decorated with the state flags of the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union. The anthems of the two states were played. Performing at the concert were artistes of the USSR State Academic Folk Dance Ensemble under Moiseyev. [video shows dignitaries at concert]

Gorbachevs Host 'Comradely' Dinner

PM2005101191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 May 91 Union Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Comradely Dinner"]

[Text] USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and his wife gave a small comradely dinner in their out-of-town residence on the evening of 17 May in honor of Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the PRC Central Military Council. The meeting took place in a warm and cordial atmosphere.

Foreign Ministers Meet

LD1705220691 Moscow TASS in English 2144 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh on Friday received his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen within the framework of Chinese party leader Jiang Zemin's official visit to the Soviet Union.

Bessmertnykh and Qian expressed confidence that this second summit meeting between the Soviet and Chinese leaders will promote mutual understanding and trust between the Soviet Union and China and give impetus to good-neighbourly and friendly relations between both countries in the interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples and for peace in the world.

Both ministers discussed specific issues of Sino-Soviet relations, including the current talks on troops reduction on the Soviet-Chinese border.

Bessmertnykh and Qian praised the agreement on the eastern section of the Sino-Soviet state border signed in Moscow, and agreed to continue talks on these issues, guided by agreed upon principles.

Both ministers discussed prospects for an anti-crisis settlement and a security system in the Gulf region, and stressed the need for considerable progress in settling the Middle East conflict.

The Soviet foreign minister informed his Chinese counterpart about the results of his recent trip to the Middle East.

They had a thorough discussion of some other international issues of mutual interest, including the Cambodian issue and the situation on the Korean peninsula.

Bessmertnykh reiterated the invitation to Qian to come to the Soviet Union on an official visit.

The meeting was held in a friendly atmosphere.

Defense Ministers Meet

LD1705150191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1350 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Moscow, 17 May (TASS)—TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy: Today Dmitriy Yazov, marshal of the Soviet Union and USSR defense minister, met with Colonel General Qin Jiwei, minister of national defense of the PRC, a member of the Chinese delegation headed by the supreme leader of the PRC, which is currently here.

In the course of a warm and friendly conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of openness and amicability, a wide range of questions of mutual interest was considered.

"We noted with satisfaction that the forward development of many- sided cooperation between the two neighboring states serves the interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples, and assists in strengthening international stability not only in Europe and Asia but in the whole world." Marshal Dmitriy Yazov said in an interview with a TASS correspondent after the meeting.

According to the minister, he told the guest from China how military reform is being implemented in the Soviet Armed Forces and about the difficulties that have appeared in connection with the withdrawal of formations and units from the territories of East Europe.

"We have agreed with our Chinese colleague to strengthen cooperation between the USSR Armed Forces and the People's Liberation Army of China in the future," the minister stressed. He added that the sides have achieved considerable progress regarding all border issues.

"We have agreed on practically all the questions regarding the reduction of troops along the whole Soviet-Chinese border, which is more than 7,500 km long," Marshal Yazov said in conclusion.

Northeast Asia

Third Stage of Withdrawal From Mongolia Begins

PM1705104991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 May 91 First Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent A. Chernov report: "Third Stage of Withdrawal"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 15 May—The latest stage of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops temporarily stationed on the territory of the MPR [Mongolian People's Republic] began today. The first trains to head for the USSR border were carrying personnel, property, and hardware of units based at Choyr (Dornogovi Aymag). Units stationed at Baga Nuur, close to Ulaanbaatar, are also to be withdrawn.

The preparations for the present, third stage began during the first days of 1991. The schedules and routes for transporting hardware and property were agreed with representatives of the MPR Ministry of Defense and with railroad services. So-called ecological subunits formed in all the units being withdrawn carried out the recultivation of land, the elimination of dumps, and the cleaning of polluted plots.

Effect on Sino-Soviet Ties Viewed

OW1905173391 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 0700 GMT 18 May 91

[Commentary by Alekseyev]

[Text] On 15 May, the Soviet Union began to withdraw the next contingent of troops temporarily stationed in Mongolia. Station commentator Alekseyev writes:

From 1989 to 1990 about three-fourths, about 50,000, of the Soviet troops in Mongolia were brought home. Now Soviet troops stationed in (Chonan) and Baga Nuur in Mongolia will also withdraw.

These returning troops have an especially important mission. All returning troops have organized environmental protection subunits responsible for burying garbage and cleaning polluted plots in an effort to restore fertility to the soil. In addition, they will coordinate closely with Mongolia's environmental protection units.

It goes without saying that troop withdrawal from Mongolia is a bilateral relations issue that Moscow and Ulaanbaatar are trying to settle. As pointed out by Mongolian President Ochirbat, Soviet-Mongolian relations are closely tied to Sino-Soviet and Sino-Mongolian relations because Soviet troops were stationed in Mongolia at Ulaanbaatar's request following the abrupt worsening of the aforesaid relations in the 1960s. They became part of basis for military confrontation at the time. Fortunately, times have changed. Relations between Moscow and Beijing, as well as Sino-Mongolian relations, have been completely normalized and are gradually developing along the path of good-neighborliness.

Therefore, Moscow, Ulaanbaatar, and Beijing are naturally assigning top priority to eliminating all vestiges of past military confrontation. We all know that China has reduced its army by 1 million men, including troops once stationed along the Sino-Soviet border. Mongolia has also reduced its armed forces in great numbers. The Soviet Union has reduced forces stationed in Asia by 200,000 men. Ongoing Sino-Soviet talks on mutual disarmament along the border and on strengthening mutual trust in military affairs are very significant.

At a Kremlin luncheon in honor of CPC leader Jiang Zemin, President Gorbachev termed these talks unprecedented in the Asia-Pacific region. Gorbachev said: Our common goal is reduction of armed forces along the border to minimum levels in conformity with the genuine spirit of good-neighborliness. Withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia is an important step in this direction. This withdrawal will be complete by the end of this year.

East Europe

Bulgaria's Popov in Moscow on Official Visit

Meets Gorbachev; Communique Released

LD1705185191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Moscow, 17 May (TASS) It was officially reported here today that M.S. Gorbachev met in the Kremlin on 17 May with D. Popov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers.

From the start the conversation assumed the form of an open and amicable exchange of views on the major issues of Soviet-Bulgarian relations, and also the problems the Soviet union and Bulgaria have to tackle at the present complex stage of social development.

D. Popov handed M.S. Gorbachev a personal message from President Zh. Zhelev. The head of the Bulgarian Government spoke of the historical memory which determines Bulgarians' friendly sentiments toward the Russians and toward the peoples of the Soviet Union, and stressed that his goodwill visit to the USSR is intended to promote the search for new opportunities for the development of Soviet-Bulgarian relations in different spheres.

The USSR president welcomed these intentions of the Bulgarian leadership and said that they are in full accord with our approach to relations with Bulgaria. Relations of a particular kind have historically arisen between Russia, the Soviet Union, and Bulgaria—relations based on cultural closeness and deep popular traditions of friendship and mutual sympathy. In recent decades, a vast potential of cooperation has been amassed, ties between regions and enterprises have been ramified, and broad contacts have been forged. All this must be preserved and increased in the interests of the peoples of the two countries.

The USSR president and the chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers agreed that at the present stage it is necessary, on the basis of mutual advantage, to develop transitional forms of cooperation, particularly in the economic and financial spheres.

Problems linked to relations with the countries of eastern Europe were dealt with in general terms. M.S. Gorbachev set out his approach to these relations: It is determined by the principles of the new political thinking, in the first place, freedom of choice. A process of establishing new, good-neighbor relations is now under way. We are neighbors, and one does not choose one's neighbors, he said.

Ending the conversation, the USSR president issued an invitation to joint action at all levels in the interests of the development of Soviet-Bulgarian relations. He conveyed his greetings and good wishes to Bulgarian President Zhelev.

USSR Prime Minister V.S. Pavlov took part in the meeting.

Meets Pavlov

LD1705195291 Moscow TASS in English 1914 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov and his Bulgarian counterpart Dimitur Popov met in Moscow on Friday to discuss the state of and prospects for developing Soviet-Bulgarian economic ties.

They noted that as both countries are carrying out radical reforms, they should further develop the whole complex of bilateral mutually advantageous ties to overcome the economic crises in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.

Discussing specific problems of economic cooperation, both leaders agreed that it should be developed to meet world standards, and stressed that the USSR and Bulgaria should seek new forms of cooperation between the countries and republics to resolve the existing problems and create stable bilateral economic ties in both countries' interests.

Popov is in the Soviet Union on a brief working visit.

Holds News Conference

LD1705201291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 17 May 91

[Statement by Bulgarian Prime Minister Dimitur Popov at news conference held at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center on 17 May; Popov speaks in Bulgarian with simultaneous Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] Bulgaria is in the process of a peaceful transition from a totalitarian system to a democratic one, a transition in which the structures of the dictatorial state are collapsing and new structures are being created. This will guarantee democratic life and ensure a parliamentary, law-governed state in which real opportunities for all human rights and freedoms to come into being will be ensured, and in which the legal problems of all the interests of citizens will be guaranteed.

At the same time, radical economic reform is being implemented which is directed at the establishment of a free market economy, and, in parallel with this, radical agricultural reform is being prepared. All this was started after a serious political and state crisis, as a result of which the main political forces in Bulgaria found the will to reach political consensus.

[Announcer] Touching on relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, Dimitur Popov noted that the talks in Moscow will give new impetus to the development of all-round relations between the two countries. We have reached agreement with the Soviet Government regarding the main problems, the Bulgarian prime minister pointed out. The focus of the talks, Popov added, was on economic relations.

TASS Cites Popov Remarks

LD1805101291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1505 GMT 17 May 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 17 May (TASS)—"Alarming stagnation"—this is how Bulgarian Council of Ministers Chairman Dimitr Popov, who is here on a short working visit, has described the current state of Soviet-Bulgarian economic relations. Addressing a news conference in Moscow today, the head of the Bulgarian Government stressed that the difficulties experienced by the two countries have resulted from reforms, the absence of a rational system of mutual payments, and the collapse of CEMA.

Dimitr Popov says his visit is aimed at stepping up economic relations with the Soviet Union and giving them a strong boost. That is why questions now being discussed with the Soviet leadership are those in which the two sides have no disagreement, he continued. In particular, during his talks with USSR Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov he discussed the question of preparing a new interstate treaty to replace the documents signed in 1967. The two sides exchanged draft treaties, which, according to the chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, coincide. Problems connected with deliveries to Bulgaria of energy-carriers from the USSR, and also the traditional participation by Bulgarian workers and specialists in timber procurement, were also discussed.

Dimitr Popov briefed journalists on his meeting with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. During the meeting, the two men reviewed questions of bilateral relations in various spheres, as well as international problems, including problems of security in Europe and in the world. The Bulgarian prime minister also stressed "the businesslike nature" of the conversation he held with Russian Council of Ministers Chairman Ivan Silayev.

Replying to journalists' questions at the end of the news conference, the head of the Bulgarian Government stated that his country's position on the type of cooperation in which former CEMA member-countries must now engage is the creation of a new "formation" that will organize the current open system and contribute to the economic development of the countries of Eastern Europe.

In the long-term, in Dimitr Popov's view, such a "formation" should help former CEMA members associate themselves with the future "European Union." At the same time the new "formation" must be guided by the market economy.

West Europe

Deputy Cited on Troop Withdrawal From Germany

LD1705103391 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT 17 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Chistyakov]

[Text] Bonn May 17 TASS—"Issues pertaining to Soviet troop withdrawal from Germany are of immense importance to the development of relations between the USSR and Germany as well as to the entire Europe," Leonid Sharin, chairman of the Soviet Parliamentary Committee for Defence and State Security, told TASS. He is attending a seminar focusing on problems involved in moving Soviet troops out of Germany, which is currently held here.

"Therefore, the meeting that was organised by the German side and a frank dialogue will undoubtedly help achieve further progress in relations between our countries," Sharin noted.

"The issue of moving out the Western Group of Troops can become a very serious obstacle to the development of bilateral relations. At present, these relations are very good but, on the other hand, are very fragile. Therefore, we should show consideration and not sharpen the existing disagreements and problems that may still emerge.

"It is necessary today that what has been created be protected by joint efforts, because it is easy to destroy the potential of trust that has been amassed." In this regard, Sharin called for setting up a Soviet-German parliamentary commission to control the implementation of the agreements on Soviet troop withdrawal from Germany.

"There is a diversity of opinion about troop withdrawal in our country. Speakers in parliament also differed sharply when they discussed the respective treaties. Many well-grounded questions arose. This is why documents presented to deputies were not ratified at once. They were approved in parliament only when the government prepared an integral programme of measures mindful of the entire range of problems—from moral-psychological to financial."

According to Sharin, moving officers and men of the Western Group of Troops from Germany on the whole is consistent with the new Soviet military doctrine, which is of a totally defensive nature, and the new approach to building the armed forces.

"We regard this process in the direct relationship with the current military reform in our country and troop reduction," Sharin said. "From this point of view, the withdrawal of troops from Germany is the all-important component of this process."

"One should admit, at the same time, that we are not overly optimistic about the military-strategic situation, in which the Soviet Union found itself as a result of current changes in Europe," Sharin went on.

"We came to the conclusion that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany will complicate to some extent the situation for the Soviet Union. Calculations on the bloc foundation underlied all treaties that were signed earlier. Today, one of the two blocs virtually ceased its existence and the balance was upset. NATO, in turn, does not take any practical retaliatory steps towards curtailing its military activity.

"Our government's stance seems correct to me: it is necessary that NATO be pressed to carry out reforms to convert the alliance from the military into a political institute," Sharin stressed.

The current situation gives us grounds to take a new look at the military doctrine and the reform of the armed forces. This aspect can be taken into account in parliament when it discusses those treaties that have not yet been ratified, including major treaties such as the one on conventional armed forces," Sharin said.

Gen. Kochetov on Housing Controversy With Germans

PM2005103791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 91 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Army General K. Kochetov by V. Izgarshev under the "Follow-Up" rubric; date, place not given: "Who Is Building the Officers' Houses?"]

[Text] As already reported, an unsavory fuss has erupted in Germany over housing construction for Soviet servicemen from the Western Group of Forces. How is it, people are asking there, that we provided the money for housing but it is going to be built, it seems, by Turks and Finns? The Soviet side, according to the FRG press, is breaking the agreement. I put this question to Army General K. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister:

[Izgarshev] Are we really breaking the agreement with the German side, Konstantin Alekseyevich?

[Kochetov] I would remind PRAVDA readers that under the bilateral accord, the German side allocated 7.8 billion marks for housing construction for servicemen and members of their families from the Western Group of Forces. The actual figure is 36,000 apartments. Plus four housing construction combines.

In line with the interstate accords, a bilateral agreement was concluded between responsible departments in the two countries. As chairman of the government commission, I told our partners then: "You, gentlemen, are in charge of the money that has been allocated, you know how to build, set to work, and give us the keys when the building is done."

They did not agree. No, they said, let us invite firms from other countries. Let us hold a competition.

[Izgarshev] Did that happen? Was a choice made?

[Kochetov] We accepted the proposal. We created a Soviet-German joint consortium and a Soviet-German planning bureau. We signed a contract with a German credit bank. That bank is financing the construction of 33 new towns in Belorussia, Russia, and the Ukraine, where units and formations from the Western Group of Forces are being relocated.

[Izgarshev] Konstantin Alekseyevich, our troops are already on the move, so to speak. Some are already back home, others are setting off. Officers' families, as always, are living out of suitcases... Has the housing construction begun?

[Kochetov] The tale is short in telling, but the deed is long in doing. The agreements have been drawn up, everything is scheduled. But there are no homes yet.

[Izgarshev] So why all the fuss in the West German press?

[Kochetov] Let us take it all in sequence. As agreed with the Germans, we held international fairs. More than 100 construction firms in different countries took part. The selection process reduced that number to 23, German firms among them. Then there was, shall we say, a second round in the competition. The winners were firms from Turkey and Finland.

[Izgarshev] Why were they chosen?

[Kochetov] Market competition. Their price was lower. And the quality of their work is well known to us. Soviet organizations have been cooperating with them for a number of years.

But I have to say that we still haven't made a final decision on the choice of construction firms. In view of the results of the competition some German concerns are still in with a chance. But the cost of construction must be determined on the basis of the contract competitions held.

[Izgarshev] Presumably our partners chose their own construction firms because they wanted the marks to remain in their pockets?

[Kochetov] Probably that was the plan. But the price of construction is a matter of concern to us. We have dealt before with the Finnish and Turkish builders in question. I see nothing reprehensible in that.

[Izgarshev] So what about the housing then? Will there be any or is it going to be more talk and no action?

[Kochetov] We are now ready to assign four construction sites: in Krivoy Rog, Vladikavkaz, Borisovo, and Shaykovka settlement in Kaluga Oblast. The German partners are insisting that German firms build homes on at least three of them. It is said that the firms' representatives are "pressuring" parliamentarians and the federal government so that they in turn put pressure on the Soviet leadership. What can I tell you? In the economy and market relations pressure and diktat count for nothing.

I am confident that everything will be done as stipulated in the interstate accords, which have been supported in both countries' parliaments. I see no other solution! After all, we cannot stop the withdrawal of troops because of a lack of housing for our servicemen, can we?

Netherlands Proposal To Raise Submarine Accepted

LD2005075791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2230 GMT 19 May 91

[Text] The Soviet nuclear powered submarine Komsomolets sank in the Sea of Norway in April, 1989. That tragedy is remembered by many people. It is still lying there today at a depth of more than 1,500 meters. The world has no experience of successful recovery operations from such a depth, but the submarine must be lifted—in addition to the nuclear reactor there are two torpedoes with nuclear warheads on board. Although the radiation situation in the area where the submarine was lost is normal, who can guarantee that the situation won't change as the years go by? A senior staff member of the USSR Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry, Yuriy Soldatov, gave the following example in a conversation with a journalist from PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK. An American submarine, the Scorpion, once suffered an accident and ran aground. A year later heavy metals were discovered in analyses of the water. We have learned a great deal from Chernobyl. The Komsomolets sank in an area where fishing is carried out by the Soviet Union, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, and Great Britain. And of course the vessel has to be raised. The government gave the task of solving the very difficult problem of raising the submarine to the Rubin Central Design Bureau for maritime technology. A competition was announced at which several projects were put forward. The experts were obliged to turn down all Soviet projects and go for the proposals of a Netherlands deep water operations consortium. The Netherlanders intend to complete all preparatory work quickly and raise the submarine in the summer of 1992.

Supreme Soviet

Speeches From 16 May Supreme Soviet Session

Shcherbakov Reports on Compensation

LD1605133691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 16 May 91

[Excerpts] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet a joint session of the chambers is being held. On the line is our legislative correspondent, Gennadiy Kolenov:

[Kolenov] [passage omitted] Vladimir Ivanovich Shcherbakov spoke to deputies in detail about how yesterday's session of the Cabinet of Ministers went. The questions there were very exciting. He said the decree on the reduction of prices of children's goods was now ready: the decision on lifting the 5 percent tax on prime necessities had been agreed with the republics; and two questions still have to be agreed—the representatives of the Ukraine and Moldova think the tax on sugar and vegetable oil should not be lifted. The decision on lifting it, Vladimir Ivanovich said, will be signed tomorrow rather than today. Compensation payments for children, which previously continued to age 16, will now continue to children studying, as a child sometimes studies an extra year, and if he starts school late, he may stay until he is 17. Monetary norms for subsidies on meals in children's preschool institutions are raised three times. Students will get one ruble a day more for meals. They keep their privileged fare tickets.

There will be a revision of business trip expenses. Now those going to Moscow on business trips will receive 25 rubles, which includes expenses for meals and hotel. For other towns, business trips will be compensated 20 rubles a day. To simplify accounting, there will be no need for hotel receipts. It has been decided to place the 1 percent tax for pension purposes not into the common pot but into the personal contributions; in other words, each will budget for our future pension from our pay.

Vladimir Ivanovich Shcherbakov was asked questions on whether the 60 rubles compensation is now included in the wage rates and whether this would be affected by tax deductions. He said it is not, since the tax tables are composed in such a way that this 60 rubles is not affected by tax.

The Supreme Soviet is continuing examination on the second hearing of the bill on the state security bodies in the USSR.

Kryuchkov Hails Security Law

LD1705141791 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 1851 GMT 16 May 91

[Speech by USSR KGB Chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov from the "USSR Supreme Soviet session" program on proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 16 May—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, esteemed members of the Supreme Soviet, dear comrades. Allow me to retain your attention for a few minutes, and express my huge gratitude to you for the work, patience, and attention which you have, not only in the last few days, but previously as well, shown to the law on USSR state security bodies, a law which we, the workers in the state security bodies, have been awaiting for a long time. The KGB and its whole personnel were among the initiators of adopting such a law, because we want to live according to the law, according to the truth; we want to be in step with history and in step with the whole Soviet people, who have decisively freed themselves from that unpleasant, heavy, tragic load with which the whole history of our fatherland is filled.

We understand this moment of responsibility in which we are all living. The question, it seems to me, is this: In our country either there will be the authority of laws and truth, or else the authority of violence, arbitrariness, and mocking of the people may reign for a long time. In certain regions of our country we are already encountering such situations. How can those things that are burdening our life and making it tragic at times be removed? I think only one thing can do this. It is necessary to make sure that laws triumph and rule in our country. And that law which we have adopted today is, I think, a serious step along the path toward this.

I am not revealing a big secret if I say that all KGB personnel have waited impatiently for this law. We experienced particular agitation in recent days, we waited to see how the Supreme Soviet would act, and I must say frankly that over these two days we heard much that is interesting, important, and useful, and not a single constructive thought, not a single constructive idea will be wasted. All this will be taken into consideration.

We are conducting a serious struggle. For us, peaceful working days are days of battle. They do not pass without losses here, and abroad. But so what—we chose our path consciously. And we do not intend to turn from this path.

Dear Comrades! I would like to draw your attention to one circumstance. Our country has now entered a period of such crisis from which we can only get out all together. We understand what consensus is. We understand what the path of joint struggle is. But, at the same time, if we are confronted by violence, and if for someone ordinary human words do not mean anything, I think that we should act.

And that law which you have put into our hands is a very sharp weapon. We will only use it legally and only when we meet with opposition. We have the USSR Constitution, we have the constitutional system. This system has undergone serious trials. There were also tragic pages in our history, but at the same time our constitution and our laws allow us to live in conditions of peace and concord. Now the Western press is writing a lot on how laws are passed by the Supreme Soviet. For some this will be a serious disappointment. Others will react to this with understanding and approval. We have many friends abroad, and we know what these friends think. They are together with us. And I hope that this law will allow them even better to join in cooperation with us.

Dear comrades, I would ask you to provide us with further assistance in everything, both in the juridical development of legally binding acts—of which there will be many, and they will be very important—to insure that the local attitude to us is appropriate. And we are especially grateful to you that you have come out in favor of the system of state security being a single category. If we break up security into pieces, we will not have state security. I think that this concerns all the republics, the Union as a whole, and individual rayons and towns.

Once more, enormous thanks to you, and let me assure you that the personnel of the state security bodies will do everything to keep up to the mark, to strictly follow the spirit of the law, and so that the grave day which was mentioned today—and comrades were correct in raising this individually—never hangs over us. Thank you very much. All the very best to you.

And I also want to say the following, as it were, beyond the framework of this. Dear comrades, we watch the USSR Supreme Soviet with great hope and with great trust. You have trodden a great path. You have been learning, and we have been learning together with you also. Your work is not only a great school for you, it is a great school for the whole Soviet people. We can see how the Supreme Soviet has come of age, grown up and matured in understanding the importance of the moment, the responsibility of the moment, and I would like, as a voter, to register my enormous satisfaction that you have traveled a glorious path, and I think that in the struggle for those values which are very dear to us, we will never deviate from our path.

As to the main value, it is the value of the Union. I think our descendants will not forgive us if we allow the Union to collapse and disintegrate. Thank you very much. All the very best to you! [applause]

Pavlov's Appointment Recommendations

LD1705135791 Moscow Central Television Second Program network in Russian 1851 GMT 16 May 91

[Speech by USSR Premier Valentin Pavlov from the "USSR Supreme Soviet session" program on proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 16 May—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Today, the working day of the Union legislature began with the examination of cadre questions. Pavlov, the country's prime minister, delivered a report. He briefed deputies on the candidacies submitted by the president.

[Pavlov] I am actually presenting to you people whom you know well and that is why I will, in all probability, not be long, all the more so because you have all this at hand. The point is this—we have come to the conclusion over the period of time that the Cabinet of Ministers has been working that, as far as some aspects of their work are concerned, those in the leading positions within the cabinet—I have deputy prime ministers in mind—need direct support from the apparatus of certain organizations within their remit in order to effectively discharge their duties.

I have in mind—the point revolves, first and foremost, around the economy and scientific and technical progress. From our viewpoint, it would be incorrect to set up a parallel apparatus and, in connection with this, we would ask you to give your consent to this: that Comrade Vladimir Ivanovich Shcherbakov, who is responsible for the cabinet for economic issues, be at the same time appointed minister of the economy and forecasting, while remaining, as was the case in former times, the first deputy premier; and that Comrade Laverov, responsible for issues of scientific and technical progress and front-ranking technology could, at the same time, head the Science and Technology Committee. Well, you know that this practice also existed in former times, and we have come to the conclusion that it would also be more justified in the new conditions—that is to say, there is an opportunity for directly relying on a qualified apparatus, without intermediaries and intervals and this will enhance the effectiveness of the work of these comrades. That is to say, we will not have a special and separate post of the minister for the economy and minister for science—these comrades will combine both these functions.

Now a very major problem, connected with foreign economic relations, appears on the agenda today, in accordance with the cabinet program we have discussed. This problem is so complex and multifaceted that today it requires the closest attention from all sides. That is why we proceeded from this: that it would not have been desirable today to change those who are in charge of this very important area of work. Moreover, we are also taking account of the circumstance that our knowledge and desires alone are not enough here; very close contacts with foreign partners, as it were, as well as general knowledge, of the background of how this or that issue arose and of the state of affairs are also needed. That is why the president's and the cabinet's request to approve Comrade Sitaryan as deputy premier in charge of issues of foreign economic ties is being submitted for your consideration.

At the same time, taking account of the social thrust of the entire economic policy of the president and the Supreme Soviet alike—and it is a most important area of work, although not everything works out here, but, nevertheless, we would like to make it the chief area of our work and it is precisely because of that, and maybe generally with very great hope that we should like to entrust this area of work to comrade Bikhodzhal Fatkhitdinovna Rakhimova. You know her, too. Not so recently she was a colleague of yours, I mean she has now left the

Supreme Soviet, but we would ask her to return to Moscow to deal with all the issues connected with the social policy of our state.

If you give your consent, the cabinet will be very grateful to you for it; and it is our view that this would make it possible for us to gather momentum faster in our work.

Law on Arbitration Tribunal Passed 17 May

LD1705140291 Moscow TASS in English 1339 GMT 17 May 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—Both houses in the Soviet Parliament at separate meetings today passed a law on the Higher Arbitration Tribunal—the country's supreme legal authority in the economic field.

Addressing deputies, its chairman Veniamin Yakovlev said the enactment of the bill "is of tremendous importance to ensuring the integrity of the nation's economic space".

The higher arbitration tribunal is empowered to settle economic disputes between enterprises, organisations and state agencies.

Yakovlev said it can and should facilitate the implementation of economic agreements between the central government and republics. However, it cannot, he added, impose penalties for agreement violations unless punishment is directly stipulated in the particular accord.

Yuriy Kalmykov, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Law and Order, said the new law takes account of provisions in the draft new union treaty.

The two parliamentary houses—the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities—also adopted a law on procedures to be followed by the higher arbitration tribunal in settling economic disputes.

It entitles enterprises and organisations, including private projects, joint ventures and international amalgamations of Soviet and foreign agencies, to approach the tribunal to protect their rights and lawful interests.

Exit-Entry Draft Law Adopted 20 May

LD2005085191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0822 GMT 20 May 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow, 20 May (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet today adopted the draft law on entry and exit from the USSR as a whole and then went on to an article-by-article discussion of it. This legal act for the first time grants Soviet citizens the right to freedom of movement in full accordance with international agreements.

The draft law on entry and exit introduces a registration procedure for exit instead of the authorization procedure which has been in operation up to the present time. An application, which must be considered within a month, is sufficient to receive a foreign passport. The law clearly stipulates the grounds on which a citizen may be refused a passport and his right to appeal such a refusal in the courts is strengthened.

Today's voting was preceded by a stormy discussion that occupied several days last week and by three unsuccessful attempts to adopt a decision. During the debates many deputies came out in favor of postponing bringing the law into operation, justifying this by the fact that expenditure on guaranteeing it would be an excessive burden for the crisis-stricken Soviet economy. Fears were also expressed that the adoption of the law would lead to a "brain drain" and would thus complicate the situation in the country even further.

Political & Social

Air Traffic Controller Strike Threatened 21 May

Paper Urges Concessions

PM2005100991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 91 p 1

[O. Karmaza article: "'The Switchmen of the Skies Go for Broke"]

[Text] As is well known, all-Union strikes by airmen and air traffic controllers are scheduled for 21 May. From 0000 hours on this day the air traffic of civil aircraft is to cease over the territory of the whole country (except for medical and search-and-rescue flights, and flights to combat natural disasters).

Yesterday it became known that the USSR general prosecutor had lodged a protest with the USSR Ministry of Justice against the ministry's registration of the Federation of Air Traffic Controllers' Trade Unions. In the opinion of the Prosecutor's Office, the federation's statutes, which contain a strike clause, contravene the USSR Law "On the Procedure for Solving Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts)," which forbids the air traffic controllers to strike.

The USSR Prosecutor's Office, in conjunction with the Ministry of Justice and the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, are now trying any means to make the strikers go back on their decision. Groups of military air traffic controllers, whom it is proposed to "transfer" to civil air traffic control centers in the event of a strike, have already been set up. The air traffic controllers have been told in no uncertain terms that in the event of a strike criminal proceedings will be instituted against all participants.

It is obvious, howver, that the air traffic controllers will not call off their strike. Over 90 percent of the country's air traffic controllers, including those working at all the major airports, have already agreed to take part the strike.

A compromise is needed, or concessions by one of the sides. Which? I realize that I will call down the wrath of many on my head, but in my view, concessions should be made to the air traffic controllers. There is no other way out today.

Countless appeals over many years by the air traffic controllers to all possible authorities have produced no results. For years on end the problems in the air traffic control service have been shrugged off like a bothersome fly. Though the question was (and is) not so much one of pay raises or increased leave as the lives of passengers. For the most dangerous thing for aircraft is a tired air traffic controller.

Incidentally, the other day the federation presidium decided to request from the archives all the many cases in which air traffic controllers have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for a "negligent attitude to work resulting in air disasters." There are serious fears that the air traffic controllers' guilt is actually the guilt of those who have for a long time been refusing to introduce justified medical norms for the work of the "switchmen of the skies."

...Little more than three days remain until the strike. Who will take a conciliatory step?

STOP PRESS

It has become known that a proposal to satisfy the air traffic controllers' basic demands—a 36-hour working week, a minimum of 48 days leave, and retirement at 50—will be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet for discussion at the earliest opportunity.

Russian Trade Unions Pledge Support

OW2005091091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] The Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions (Russian acronym FNPR) will support Soviet air traffic controllers, if their conflict with the Soviet government leads to the strike called for May 21. This was made public in a statement on Friday at a press conference in Moscow by the chairman of the FNPR, Mr. Igor Klochkov.

"Society has little idea of the appalling situation of these workers", he said and described as "justified" the demands to raise wages by 300 percent, add 12 days to annual vacation and to lower the retirement age to 50.

According to Mr. Klochkov "the government is obliged to sit around a discussion table and find a solution" to satisfy the demands of the strike committee.

In case of a strike, he said, "if it is necessary we will give help to the air traffic controllers, as far as our budget allows."

Mr. Klochkov said that the leadership of the FNPR will be studying the Soviet Presidential Decree, according to which strikes in vital sectors of the economy will be banned, but he emphasisted the already stated position of the federation: "We consider bans will do nothing to heal society and lower social tension. This is not a path in search of social accord".

Mr. Klochkov also outlined the position of the presidium of the FNPR regarding the Russian presidential elections to be held on June 12. According to him, after discussing the various possibilities, the federation had decided not to put forward its own candidate, as at the present political climate "a FNPR candidate could not count on great success."

Instead the federation had issued its own program for the elections. "After the pre-election campaign we may speak out in favor of one candidate who appears to us to be nearest to our program."

Mr. Klochkov said that Boris Yeltsin was the favorite for the June election. "Personally I shall be voting for him".

Controllers Hold News Conference

LD1705180291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] A news conference of air traffic controllers devoted to the planned strike on 21 May is taking place at this moment in Moscow. Yuriy Korotkov, our correspondent, is on the line. Good evening. We are listening to you.

[Korotkov] Greetings. Can you hear me?

[Announcer] Yes, but could you speak a little louder?

[Korotkov] The fact is that the news conference ended 15 minutes ago. It took place in the building of the Moscow Oktyabrskiy Rayon Executive Committee. It was conducted by Vladimir Georgiyevich Konusenko, president of the USSR Federation of the Air Traffic Controllers Union and by [word indistinct] Avgustovich Malinovskiy, chairman of the Independent Trade Union of USSR Flight Personnel.

They reaffirmed their intention to carry out an all-Union strike on 21 May. The air traffic controllers' main demands are: a minimum three-fold rise in the wages of air traffic controllers with further compensation in line with any increase in the cost of living, establishing a 36-hour working week, 48 days of holiday, and a right to retire on pension at the age of 50.

The main demands of the flight personnel include: a three-fold rise of wage and pensions from the level which exist today.

If these demands are not fulfilled during the remaining three days up to 21 May then the strike will begin at 0000 on Tuesday. All air services in the airspace of the USSR, excluding ambulance flights, search and rescue flights, and flights to liquidate the aftermaths of natural disasters will be stopped. The leader of the country's trade unions, Shcherbakov, stated yesterday on the "Vremya" program that we have examined actions counter to those undertaken by the air traffic controllers, which were used by Reagan in his time. This means the use of military air traffic controllers. In response, Konusenko said that we know, so to speak, what they are worth and it is irresponsible to state such a thing. Answering a question to the effect what will the air traffic controllers do if the USSR Ministry of Justice annuls the registration of the trade union of air traffic controllers, Konusenko said that the activities of our trade union can only be stopped by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A paradoxical situation has occurred. On the one hand, the state takes away all the hard currency earnings of the air traffic controllers, and on the other hand the state will have to pay fines to foreign clients in hard currency for disrupting flights, and the fines may be even more than the sum needed to raise the wages of the air traffic controllers and flight personnel.

During the past few minutes—it is 1800 [1500 GMT] now—the representatives of the flight personnel and air traffic controllers have gone to meet leaders of the Cabinet of Ministers.

Another round of talks is beginning now. Let us hope it will bring tangible results.

[Announcer] I would like to remind you that this is unhappy information on the upcoming strike, and it was reported by Yuriy Korotkov. We are also waiting for a continuation of this conversation to find out whether there will be a strike or not.

Prosecutor Says Statutes Illegal

PM1705212791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 May 91 Union Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Protest by USSR Prosecutor General"]

[Text] The USSR Prosecutor's Office Press Service has reported that USSR Prosecutor General N. Trubin lodged a protest 15 May with S. Lushchikov, USSR minister of justice, against the 17 April Ministry of Justice decision to register the statutes of the Federation of USSR Air Traffic Controllers' Trade Unions. The protest proposed that the decision be rescinded and that the registration certificate be annulled.

The basis on which the Prosecutor's Office intervened was the violation of the requirements of Article 11 of the USSR law "On the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts)," which bans strikes in the civil aviation system, whereas the statutes grant this right to the federation's organizations and Central Council.

Contrary to the requirements of the law, the statutes envisage the use of sanctions—up to and including expulsion from the federation—against trade union members who refuse to take part in a strike. The inclusion of these provisions in the statutes is a blatant violation of the principles laid down by the USSR law "On Social Associations" (article 4) regarding the creation and activity of social organizations. Nor were these circumstances taken into account by the Ministry of Justice when the registration took place.

In this connection, V. Konusenko and S. Yevsyukov, president and vice president respectively of the federation of air traffic controllers' trade unions, together with G. Lipayev, administration chief at the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, were invited to meet with USSR Deputy Prosecutor General V. Andreyev, who explained to them that the declaration of a strike was illegal and warned that they would be responsible if the strike went ahead.

The USSR Prosecutor's Office has instructed Union republic prosecutor's offices and transport prosecutor's offices to take measures to explain the legal requirements regarding the impermissibility of strikes at civil aviation enterprises and organizations, and to step up their monitoring of the observance of legislation in this sphere.

Air Officials, Controllers Comment

LD1805230991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 May 91

[From the "Vremya" Newscast]

[Text] An open-ended strike by air traffic controllers and a warning strike by aircrew are set to start on 21 May. Civil air traffic is due to stop from 0000 that day throughout the country, with the only exceptions being medical and search-and-rescue flights and flights to deal with natural disasters.

[Begin recording] [Reporter I. Mishina] In three days' time the world will still be turning, but what the position will be with Aeroflot is still not known. [video shows Mishina outside Aeroflot building, in office interviewing V.I. Voskoboynikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Transport Commission] Is there a possibility of a compromise? Who will take the first step toward the other side?

[Voskoboynikov] An instruction from the Cabinet of Ministers was signed yesterday, under which the controllers obtain the possibility of having practically all the points they have put forward in their demands met. The pension age will be reduced to 50 for men and 45 for women.

[Mishina] As the controllers were demanding?

[Voskoboynikov] As they were demanding. The next point concerns leave. It is no longer a matter of 48 days. They can receive, let's say, as much as 50 days.

Another of the controllers's demands was for a three-fold pay increase, at least, with subsequent indexation pegged to the cost of living. Regrettably, we cannot now offer that kind of pay rise, but even so....

[Mishina, interrupting] I beg your pardon. The average pay for an air traffic controllers is at least 400 rubles?

[Voskoboynikov] Yes, about that. Even so, we have found a possibility for increasing the funds directed to consumption by civil aviation enterprises by 40 percent, and for raising the pay for aircrew and for contorllers by 50 percent, on average. This is contained in an instruction from the Cabinet of Ministers dated 18 May 1991.

[Mishina] The Cabinet of Ministers instruction could be a breakthrough, but it is unfortunately not the final stage in the conflict. At 1600 today our camera crew waited outside the Ministry of Civil Aviation for the end of a meeting between the trade unions representing aircrew and air traffic controllers and representatives of the Cabinet of Ministers and the Supreme Soviet. Will it be possible to agree on these compromises before 21 May?

[A. Malinovskiy, president of the Trade Union for Aircrew of the Ministry of Civil Aviation] Given goodwill on the part of the government and their representatives, it is possible.

[Mishina] The timing of the strike—at the end of May and the beginning of June, at the start of the summer—is it accidental that this coincides with the summer holiday season?

[Malinovskiy] It is just a coincidence.

[V. Konusenko, president of the Federation of Trade Unions of USSR Air Traffic Controllers] The aim of the strike is not to strike and not to inflict damage.

[Mishina] Are you an air traffic controller?

[Konusenko] Yes. I am.

[Mishina] What do you think will happen if the strike does go ahead? What threat does it pose?

[Konusenko] Figuratively speaking, this will be a step backwards from the 20th century to the 19th. The state will suffer vast billions in losses, yet all we need is just a few millions. The state forces us to work to breaking point, so we are striking, because we do not want to kill more innocent passengers and crew or mar the destinies of our families. [end recording]

Trade Union Leaders Interviewed

PM2005083791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 May 91 Union Edition pp 1,2

[Interview with Vladimir Konusenko and Sergey Yevsyukov, president and vice president of USSR Air Traffic Controllers Trade Union Federation, by I. Andreyev; specific respondent to each question not identified; date, place not given: "Can the Air Traffic Controllers' Strike Be Avoided"]

[Text] There have been two pieces in IZVESTIYA (Nos. 102 and 113) about the upcoming national air traffic controllers' strike. After the last item, which reflected the position of the Civil Aviation Ministry, Vladimir Konyusenko and Sergey Yevsyukov, president and vice president of the USSR air traffic controllers trade union confederation, came to the editorial office.

[Andreyev] So you do not accept the Civil Aviation Ministry's assessment of the air traffic controllers' readiness to hold a strike?

[Respondent] Absolutely not. The Civil Aviation Ministry Main Air Traffic Administration chief claims that only a small number of air traffic controllers are intent on such a radical measure. According to our data, which include the minutes of meetings and reports from the provinces, 95 percent of our colleagues are prepared to strike. At any rate, those who are in direct control of air traffic.

[Andreyev] But according to official Civil Aviation Ministry data, only 5,191 of the 17,043 air traffic service workers belong to your trade union federation...

[Respondent] That was the figure we registered when the federation was "legalized" recently at the USSR Justice Ministry. It was simply beyond our capability to present to the Justice Ministry complete lists of thousands and thousands of controllers. In fact, we have a formal membership of around 12,000, essentially the entire service, those directly in charge of air traffic.

[Andreyev] What is the geographical scope of the strike?

[Respondent] Judging by the minutes I mentioned before and the reports from the provinces, air traffic controllers in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, Magadan, Mirnyy, Irkutsk, Bratsk, Ulan-Ude, Sochi, Krasnoyarsk, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Barnaul, Sverdlovsk, Tyumen, Surgut, Perm, Samara, Volgograd, Rostov, Mineralnyy Vody, Astrakhan, Arkhangelsk, Syktyvkar, Leningrad, Moscow, Kiev, Bishkek, Dushanbe, Tashkent, Ashkhabad, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Estonia, Latvia, Belorussia, and many other places will stop work. Strikes at one-third of the major air centers, however, are enough to halt flights altogether. Just imagine—Khabarovsk is letting aircraft go, Moscow is accepting aircraft, but Krasnoyarsk is not letting aircraft into its zone. That makes the flight impossible. No one will allow an aircraft to take off without guarantees of control fron the ground for the duration of the flight.

[Andreyev] Frankly, it is frightening thinking about it... What do you think?

[Respondent] We fear for the passengers and for the crews, whom we, legally operating in excess of all medical norms, aging prematurely, resting little and badly, are subjecting to daily danger. You see, we make mistakes, directing aircraft in crowded airspace. The price of these mistakes is human lives.

Moreover, our profession is by its very nature unique. Here is a document summing up decades of medical and psychological studies of air traffic controllers' work: "Materials Relating to the USSR Health Ministry's Findings Explaining the Burden and Stress of Air Traffic Controllers' Work." It is rather frightening to read of the health problems that develop by the age of 45 and how they affect the controller's professional reliability. Here is the conclusion: "...the profession of 'air traffic controller' and the posts of 'controller,' 'senior controller,' and 'flight controller' should be placed on the list of production operations, ships, professions, and posts that involve very harmful or very difficult working conditions..." So our demands regarding retirement age, length of working week, leave, and salaries stem from this document, which no one disputes.

[Andreyev] The ministry supports these demands and is proposing a joint effort to get the USSR Supreme Soviet and Cabinet of Ministers to meet them if the strike is called off. You have not agreed to cooperate...

[Respondent] We have not done so because talks were being held a year ago. They led to nothing. Neither the Supreme Soviet nor the Cabinet of Ministers (the USSR Council of Ministers, as it was then) gave an answer, neither solved the problem.

[Andreyev] Is a compromise impossible? Is the only option a strike, the total paralysis of the country's air traffic, and enormous financial claims by foreign air companies because they are unable to fly to the country or cross it?

[Respondent] It looks like it, although deep down we are sure that two hours of paralysis will be enough to finally get a decision on this.

[Andreyev] And if this decision does not address pensions, leave, and salaries, but the dismissal of controllers and prosecution of those who have broken the USSR law "On the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts)," which does not allow transport sector workers to strike?

[Respondent] We will strike until the decision is revoked. We will be supported by the pilots and the miners. Decisions to this effect have been made by an all-Union trade union—the Association of USSR Civil Aviation Flight Crews—and by the country's independent trade union of miners.

[Andreyev] I know that the USSR Justice Ministry was asked to deem invalid the 17 April document registering your USSR Air Traffic Controllers Trade Union Federation...

Moreover, at a press conference on 16 May, Deputy Prime Minister V. Shcherbakov bluntly stated that the government considered the strike to be illegal since it falls within the scope of the new presidential decree. We have carefully studied R. Reagan's work methods in dealing with a similar situation, he added. How do you assess these events?

[Respondent] As pressure on us. Only the USSR Supreme Court has the right to halt a trade union's activities, according to Article 5 of the USSR law "On Trade Unions and the Rights and Guarantees of their Activity." [interview ends]

On the evening of 16 May V. Konusenko and S. Yevsyukov met with the minister of USSR Civil Aviation, the deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, the deputy minister of labor and social problems, and USSR and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputies. The controllers still intend to strike.

Minister Says Flights To Continue

PM1705213191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 91 Second Edition p 4

[V. Andreyev article under "Call to the Minister" rubric: "Planes Will Continue Flying"]

[Text] Many contradictory things are being said about the air traffic controllers' strike planned for 21 May. The fears of potential Aeroflot passengers are understandable—after all, if the air traffic controllers stop work, aircraft will be unable to take off.

This PRAVDA correspondent telephoned B. Panyukov, minister of civil aviation. Commenting on the situation, Boris Yegorovich said:

"The ministry is taking all necessary measures to prevent airports from closing down. Our specialists have worked out that a one-day strike alone could lead to the state losing around 25 million rubles and $2 million. I hope that the air traffic controllers realize this. Even though their economic demands are largely justified. And we ourselves are striving to satisfy them, although the situation in the country is very difficult, as you know.

"And yet it should be noted that, in itself, there is no legal basis for an air traffic controllers' strike. That was the reply we received from the USSR Ministry of Justice. The leaders of the air traffic controllers' trade union know this too; they were recently invited to the Ministry of Justice and actually shown the points of law which proved that their calls for a strike were illegal. Incidentally, USSR Prosecutor General N. Trubin protested the registration of the air traffic controllers' trade union statutes with the Ministry of Justice. They too contain a number of disparities vis-a-vis Soviet laws.

"I want to assure PRAVDA readers—our potential passengers," the minister stressed, "that even if some air traffic controllers go on strike, planes will continue flying on 21 May and on subsequent days. Aeroflot is taking the most radical and necessary measures to ensure this. Incidentally, in many parts of the country—specifically, the Transcaucasus, the North Caucasus, and other areas—air traffic controllers have refused to support their trade union colleagues."

Air Traffic Controllers List Demands

LD1805094191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0500 GMT 18 May 91

[From the "Television News Service" in Program]

[Text] [Correspondent L. Lashchenko] Yesterday there was a news conference by the federation of the trade unions of the country's air traffic controllers. This time, Aeroflot's air traffic controllers have decided to strike. They are being joined by the flight personnel. The demands are: retirement at the age of 50; a 36-hour work week; 48 days of leave; and at least a tripling of pay, with partial payment in foreign currency.

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] It is clear that airmen are flying hungary because there's nothing to eat at home, and especially since there's nothing at the airports. We have resorts that we manage to get into once in 30 years. [end recording]

[Lashchenko] From 0000 on 21 May, air traffic will cease not only in the territory of our country, but also planes bound for foreign destinations. Aircraft will take off only in emergency situations, only to eliminate natural disasters.

It has also been decided that, if just one striker is brought to administrative, criminal, or some other form of liability, then the strike will be continued until the decision is annulled.

One hour of such a strike will cost Aeroflot 120 million rubles and $3 million—maybe even more.

Tickets for 21 May are being sold today at Aeroflot offices, but, unless the strikers' terms are met, you are unlikely to reach your destination.

Military Expected To Fill In

LD1905213991 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 19 May 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Reporter Elin] Just recently the miners stopped striking, but on 21 May a strike of air traffic controllers is planned. Are their demands legitimate? Yes. This is a very difficult profession. The work of air traffic controllers is tense. I have the greatest respect for their work; after all, our safety depends on them. To find out how legitimate their demands are, we have invited to the studio Boris Yegorovich Panyukov, minister of civil aviation of the USSR. Please, go ahead.

[Panyukov] The demands made by civil aviation air traffic control staff, pilots, and other employees are just and need to be resolved today in connection with the sharp rise in retail prices and the decline in living standard of Soviet people. The Ministry of Civil Aviation and the Cabinet of Ministers are aware of this problem and found an opportunity on 17 May to examine it again and find positive answers to the problems facing civil aviation employees.

[Elin] What specifically?

[Panyukov] The Cabinet of Ministers' instruction stipulates increasing the consumption fund base by 40 percent for our sector as a whole and raising salaries for flight and air traffic control staff by 50 percent.

[Elin] But the controllers are demanding a three-fold increase in salaries.

[Panyukov] You are quite correct. I think that today, right now, neither the country nor our sector has these resources. They simply have to be earned. I would like to stress that this instruction by the Cabinet of Ministers stipulates other benefits, in particular, a reduction in the work week for air traffic control staff, an increase in leave, and a pension settlement. A review of the pay system for flight crews is envisaged. I think that this decision will get a positive response from among all civil aviation employees.

[Elin] Boris Yegorovich, we know that, generally speaking, transport in any civilized country should operate without interruption. The USSR law on settling labor disputes states that transport strikes are banned.

[Panyukov] You are quite correct. Transport strikes, including in civil aviation, are banned in accordance with the existing law. Incidentally, the Ministry of Justice and the USSR Procuracy have notified and warned trade union leaders, the air traffic controllers, and the pilots about this. I also spoke about this at a meeting with them yesterday, Saturday.

[Elin] Let us imagine what the consequences will be if the strike nonetheless goes ahead.

[Panyukov] The consequences or the losses will be enormous for the national economy as a whole. Great moral and psychological damage will be caused to our population. Let me cite two figures: Should the strike go ahead, the revenue loss for civil aviation alone for 24 hours will be 25 million rubles and about $2 million.

[Elin] Such losses in this time of crisis for us are indeed significant. For my last point, Boris Yegorovich, we hope that there will be no strike. All the same, if it does take place, what will be done with passengers? How will the planes operate?

[Panyukov] I am also showing confidence and hope that there will be no civil aviation strike.

[Elin] And yet?

[Panyukov] But if it occurs in some regions, we will appeal to the Ministry of Defense, to the air forces, to aviators of the country, and to other ministries to guarantee the activities of civil aviation both in the country and on international air routes. Second, I hope for sense by our workers, for their responsibility, primarily by the air traffic controllers and the flight crews. I want to assure the population of our country that civil aviation will work on 21 May.

[elin] Thank you for this interview.

[Panyukov] Thank you.

Cabinet Examines Strike Threat

LD2005131191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1244 GMT 20 May 91

[Text] Moscow, 20 May (TASS)—It is officially announced here that the USSR Cabinet of Ministers has examined questions of ensuring the stable operation of the country's air transportation.

A cabinet instruction on 17 May lays down measures to increase 1991 deliveries of aviation fuel, aviation equipment and spares, and also to provide additional productivity incentives for air transporation workers and improve their conditions.

These measures are to be paid with funds raised by increasing the volume and enhancing the quality of transportation services to the population.

The USSR Chief Procurator has issued a protest against the decision of the USSR Justice Ministry to register the charter of the Federation of the Trade Union of Air Traffic Controllers of the USSR in connection with the fact that certain clauses of the federation's charter ignore features of the procedure for resolving collective labor disputes (conflicts) at civil aviation enterprises.

Having examined the aforementioned protest, the USSR Justice Ministry rescinded its decision to register the charter of the Federation of the USSR Union of Air Traffic Controllers.

Air Controllers Prepare for Strike

LD2005113591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 20 May 91

[Text] As reported to us by the strike committee of the air traffic controllers' trade union, the air traffic controllers' strike planned for tomorrow has not been canceled, although agreement has been reached on all points in the controllers' demands, except for the threefold salary increase. Talks are continuing. We expect to receive news for later broadcasts.

Gorbachev Presents Draft Income Indexation Plan

LD1705191791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1802 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Moscow, 17 May (TASS)—It is reported here today that USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has presented the USSR Supreme Soviet with the draft basis for USSR and republican legislation on the indexation of the population's income, and a draft USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the procedure for bringing it into effect, prepared by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers with the participation of the governments of the republics and the General Confederation of USSR Trades Unions.

An appeal by the USSR president to the USSR Supreme Soviet indicates that the main goal of the draft is to lay the organizational, legal, and economic basis for the indexation of the financial income of citizens on USSR territory. Indexation is viewed as a mechanism for increasing the financial income of citizens, instituted by the state or social partners, and allowing this to partially or fully compensate increases in the price of consumer goods and services. It is a component part of the state system for the social protection of citizens from, primarily, socially vulnerable sections of the population.

This first concerns pensioners, invalids, the unemployed, children, pupils and students, and also workers in state budget organizations.

The draft limits the competence of the USSR and republics in carrying out work in the sphere of income indexation. At the same time, wide powers are delegated to the republican level.

During preparation of the draft law, conditions of the application and consequences of the indexation of incomes in a number of the world's developed countries were studied and taken into account.

Adoption of the basis is yet one more step in the creation of an integral system of measures for protection of the population during the switch to a market economy, and allows the living conditions of the less well-off sections of the population to be maintained.

Gorbachev Decree on Key Industries Reported

OW2005063391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 17 May 91

[From "Business Today"]

[Text] President Gorbachev has issued a decree which enforces new working conditions in the key sectors of the economy. The decree which came into force yesterday is aimed chiefly at ensuring the smooth operation of the country's heavy industry and railways.

Enterprises in these sectors now have the right to sell up to 10

of production independently (the exact figure will be fixed by the government of each republic) either abroad or on the domestic market.

The decree also envisages the possibility [of] significant wage increases with the payment of productivity bonuses.

Against this, there is now an outright ban on industrial action in the key sectors. The decree states that "Any person attempting to disrupt production or disturb the working order of an enterprise will be held answerable before the law".

Paper's 'Insulting' Item on Gorbachev Refuted

PM1505135391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 May 91 First Edition p 6

[V. Lezvina "Rejoinder": "Tell Lies If You Like, But Within Limits!"]

[Text] Stavropol—"He Also Ran Around in Felt Boots" was the title Yu. Pankov gave to material contained in the 13th edition of the weekly SOBESEDNIK. He means the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR president.

It would not have been so bad, but Yuriy Pankov, quoting the recollections of M. Gorbachev's fellow townspeople, paints such a satirical picture of the inhabitants of Privolnoye that it strikes you as incredible how little respect people can have for those whose opinion they seek. And even this was not the reason for the meeting of veterans in the settlement of Privolnoye, but the gross factual mistakes that the SOBESEDNIK correspondent put into their mouths.

In particular, the item speaks about the visit to Privolnoye in 1949 of party kraykom [kray committee] party secretary Suslov and his alleged role in the 18-year old Mikhail Gorbachev's receiving the Order of the Labor Red Banner (for your information, Suslov was no longer working in Stavropol in 1949). A paragraph later, there is mention of M. Gorbachev's becoming a CPSU candidate member on the eve of his final school examinations (in fact this happened during Gorbachev's studies at Moscow State University).

These and other facts cited in the item forced the veterans, who were Gorbachev's fellow townspeople, to write a refutation. One of the people who expressed their indignation was Yelena Alekseyevna Chaplygina, who was a classmate of the president, and whose words Pankov cites in full. And this includes words she did not utter. A letter of refutation was sent on behalf of the collective of Krasnogvardeyskaya High School No. 1 by its headmaster and the secretary of the party organization.

In general, as summed up by Nikolay Vasilyevich Dorokhov, secretary of the Sverdlov kolkhoz [collective farm] party committee which is located in Privolnoye, all this is a vile fabrication, and it is insulting both to the president and his fellow townspeople.

Soviet Legislature Endorses Free-Travel Bill

AU2005085791 Paris AFP in English 0853 GMT 20 May 91

[Text] Moscow, May 20 (AFP)—The Supreme Soviet overwhelmingly endorsed Monday a bill allowing Soviet citizens to travel freely abroad. The bill, which must still be ratified article by article, was adopted in principle by 320 votes to 37, with 32 abstentions, legislative sources said.

Only a week ago, the federal legislature had failed to ratify the bill because of a lack of quorum in one of its two houses.

The United States has tied the question of granting the Soviet Union most-favoured-nation trading status to its adoption of such a law.

According to the bill, every Soviet citizen will be entitled to an international passport and will no longer need an exit visa to leave the country.

Kryuchkov Favors Adoption of Entry, Exit Law

PM1505162391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 91 p 1

[RIA report under the general heading: "Have You Heard? Did You Read?"]

[Text] Moscow—"The law on entry to and exit from the USSR should be adopted, but we must calculate its economic implications," USSR KGB Chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov told an RIA correspondent. In his opinion, "in adopting this law we must proceed from the main point: How it will guarantee human rights?"

Results of Soviet Emigration Poll Released

OW2005044891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 18 May 91

["Viewpoint"]

[Text] The news agency DATA reports the findings of an opinion poll which the National Public Opinions Studies Center (VCIOM) carried out among 3,006 urban and rural residents last March to find out their attitude to exit from the country.

Asked "Do you agree that exit abroad for people of considerable importance to this country should be restricted?" nearly one half (47 percent) of the respondents answered in the affirmative. Nearly one third (30 percent) said NO and 22 percent failed to express a definite opinion.

In reply to the question "What country would you like to live in?" 26 percent of those polled named Germany and Australia.

France, Canada and New Zealand received 22 percent of the votes each.

21 percent would choose the Scandinavian countries—Sweden, Denmark or Norway.

14 percent said they would opt for Finaland or Australia, 11 percent for the U.S., 10 percent for Italy, and 7 percent for Japan or Britain.

6 percent would like to live in Eastern Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia or Hungary), 5 percent nearer to the Middle East (Turkey, Syria or Lebanon), 3 percent in Spain or South Africa, 2 percent in Latin America (Brazil, Chile or Argentina), and 1 percent in Israel.

The statistical error margin was set at 3 percent.

Shcherbakov Interviewed on Government Program

LD1605185891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] A personnel issue was examined at this morning's joint session of the Union parliament. The members of the USSR Supreme Soviet assented to the appointment of Vladimir Ivanovich Shcherbakov—who delivered a report on yesterday's session of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers—as first deputy prime minister of the country. Our correspondent Vladimir Perfilyev was given an exclusive interview by Vladimir Ivanovich Shcherbakov.

[Begin recording] [Perfilyev] Yesterday, we noted that the report on the session of the Cabinet of Ministers said that representatives of 13 Union republics were present. We remember also the declaration of the Nine-plus-One. So perhaps this concept which has emerged about a unified economic space has had some influence on us, the relationship between these numbers?

[Shcherbakov] I think so, yes, if one is to speak frankly, there was this subtle point when, after the Supreme Soviet's adoption of an affirmative decision on the Cabinet of Ministers' action program, and it was instructed to finalize it with the participation of the republics, I sent telegrams to all the prime ministers inviting them to take part, to send their deputy or other authorized representative. The [representatives of the] republics of the Baltic and Transcaucasus were the first to arrive.

[Perfilyev] That is, a certain interest was manifested.

[Shcherbakov] Yes, I think that the comrades also understand more soberly now, in general, that political disagreements are one thing, while how to go on living is another matter. After all, everyone can see what is happening as a result of the autonomization of markets, the break-up of the unified economic space; everyone feels the effects. So, thus far two republics...[pauses] well, Georgia is taking a quite orthodox position, and I would say this is only at the level of the leadership, because the working contacts with specialists, with colleagues, show that these people have a different point of view, but following Gamsakhurdia's decree on cessation of contacts, their hands are quite simply tied, although they are always asking not to be abandoned, to be helped to sort out their affairs, at least, and their economy, as well. Estonia has thus far not stated its official status to us, and did not take part in the finalizing work. So, they wanted to be in an observer role, that was the way they put it, but the other republics reckoned that there was no need to observe the work; either you do the work and sign the document, or we tell you what the conditions will be for us to cooperate with you. That way of putting things, more or less, ended up in the two republics not taking part.

[Perfilyev] I keep viewing the television report on the work of the cabinet, and as a viewer, I have had the feeling that the country's president expressed overall satisfaction at what has been achieved. Does this inspire any further hopes for you, for the Cabinet of Ministers, and for our listeners in general?

[Shcherbakov] As far as the personal participation of the president is concerned, the president, Pavlov and I, as a threesome, have probably sat down for some 45-50 hours in total, discussing every thesis and every action in this program. And so at all stages the president was in the know; he eliminated a lot of disagreements, set the guidelines, and what he said yesterday is in general the result of his own work, too. Well, yesterday the president spoke to the effect that it should be finalized in the course of literally three or four days, adopted, and become effective immediately. [end recording]

Ivashko Chairs CPSU CC Secretariat Session

LD1805141491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1753 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Moscow, 17 May (TASS)—The CPSU Central Committee press center has today published a report on a regular session of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat chaired by Vladimir Ivashko, CPSU Central Committee [deputy] general secretary.

An important item on the agenda of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat was an examination of the activities of the party organization of Kharkov (Ukraine) State University under conditions of renewal of the forms and methods of party work.

Kharkov University is a major center of education with its science schools and democratic traditions. It was one of the first in the country to gain state accreditation. The basis of the activities of its party organization is the development of a position on key issues of the collective's life and on the most acute political problems. In his report, M. Bondarenko, secretary of the party committee, self-critically analyzed the role of the more than 1,000-strong detachment of communists in solving the main questions of the institution's activities: the achievement of a new quality in preparaing specialists, cadre policy, renewing forms and methods of political work in the collective, and the social protection of students, scholars, and pedagogues.

V. Ryabov, CPSU Central Committee member and head of the CPSU Central Committee humanities department, touched on the special features of the public-political processes in higher education, and on the political realities in the stuent milieu, professorial and lectorial collectives and party organizations. Characterizing the work of the Kharkov University party organization, he noted that it is one that has not only stood its ground in the political struggle, but also actively influences affairs in collectives in the current complicated situation. But not all of its possibilities are being used to the full. Attention toward solving youth problems and to the state and affairs of the Komsomol organization has weakened. There is still tension concerning the problem of depoliticization which is being forced on the party. The speeches also contained specific proposals for priority development of higher education in the country.

G.A. Yagodin, CPSU Central Committee member and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Education, placed particular stress on the need to follow the clear guidelines in the sphere of education and youth policy which are contained in the resolutions of the 28th CPSU Congress.

In the opinion of A.S. Dzasokhov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, the experience of Kharkov University has universal significance. It is important to note in good time and to gather in literally grain by grain the new things that have appeared in the work of higher education party organizations.

Pavlov Comments on Anticrisis Program

PM1905151591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 91 Second Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Nikitin article under the "Topical Subject" rubric: "Will We Conquer the Crisis?"]

[Text] "I was held up at a sitting of our Hard Currency Commission..." V. Pavlov apologized.

Barely pausing for breath, he began to talk about the joint action program that the USSR and republic governments have just adopted to extricate the economy from the crisis.

What did the premier say? In his opinion, the program is more realistic. Why? It is not as hasty as the previous programs were and has been subjected to "brainstorming" sessions not only by "geniuses" recognized in Moscow but also by a wide range of experienced specialists from the republics. Of course, there were also skeptics among them. Partly because some points were still not fully formalized, particularly as regards construction. It is hard to envisage in advance ideal solutions for every eventuality.

We must also take into consideration the fact that today's republics will not tolerate uniformity in their approach to the economy. For that reason, naturally, a U.S. journalist asked: Which republic is least compliant? The answer was dictated, as befits an economist, without narrow political or emotional footnotes. Everything today is essentially determined by the actual state of affairs in a particular republic. Only Georgia and Estonia failed to take part in discussing the anticrisis program.

However, the representatives of the other republics were not entirely unanimous. At the prompting of Russia and the Ukraine, a dispute flared up over the financial aspects of the program. Which principles are more acceptable: a unified financial system or unified financial policy? After a heated dispute the latter viewpoint prevailed.

But proposals did not always meet with understanding. The Ukraine suggested "releasing" to the market only above-plan output. People who deemed it necessary to utilize market relations outside the framework of the state order won the day. Of course, this considerably extends, above all, the potential for producing goods for the people.

When a Moscow observer complained that he saw no mechanism in the program for its implementation, Prime Minister V. Pavlov reasonably took exception to this. We cannot live in the old way and formulate "implementation mechanisms" in Moscow for all regions at once if we are according this right to the republics themselves. On the basis of a unified policy rather than a rigid "economic straitjacket" the sovereign republics can do this better and more quickly, taking their special features into consideration.

I must say that this time it was not foreign but Muscovite journalists who had prepared the sharpest questions for the premier. Thus, an APN correspondent said that he thinks—on the basis of recent party plenum debates—that Communists are against the market. They are combating the government...

It was impossible to keep silent or dodge this question since who but mostly Communists produced the program to extricate the country from the crisis? That is point one. Second, the Communist Party is the leading party, V. Pavlov stressed. Why should it combat its own government? Isn't it better in that case to simply replace the unsuccessful government?

Privatization will be the heart of the next phase of reform. The diversity of opinion on this is interesting. Some republics are in a hurry, while others are treading carefully, and a third group seem to have decided... to refrain from replacing their ministries' Union nameplates with republic nameplates. Interference from above, from the center will hardly help matters. The republics themselves will "reach maturity" and draw the necessary conclusions.

The question of who is to start things off seems to have been decided. State enterprises under Russian jurisdiction will evidently be privatized first. But one must not forget that the economy is sluggish.

Not everything will be privatized. Talk at the meeting turned in particular to the plan for a joint integrated European power system. Our country will play first fiddle there. It will contribute resources, including oil and natural gas. Europe will help out with equipment and technology. And not only in the power industry, but also in other sectors, notably the agrarian sector. The new program attaches special significance to the latter. A gigantic joint project for world cooperation is being set up on an entirely market basis. Many other joint innovations will appear. A special law is being drafted and our government has signed an agreement with 18 countries to protect their investments in the USSR. We have set course for complete trust and equal relations...

CPSU Secretariat Land Reform Resolution

PM1605133991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 91 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report on CPSU Central Committee Secretariat resolution: "On Stepping Up Party Organizations' Work To Provide Political Backup For Land Reform Being Implemented in the Country"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat has adopted a resolution "On Stepping Up Party Organizations' Work To Provide Political Backup For Land Reform Being Implemented in the Country." It notes that reform of land relations holds a key position in contemporary agrarian policy. On the basis of the legislative acts adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the republic supreme soviets and the USSR presidential decree "On Immediate Tasks in Implementing Land Reform," steps are being taken at the central and local level to ensure that the planned transformations are implemented. Considerable changes are taking place in social production, and the work of intrafarm structures in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agro-industrial formations is increasingly based on lease, cooperative, joint-stock, and family principles and exercise of the rights of collective property owners. The meeting at the CPSU Central Committee with leaders of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises that have switched to new forms of economic activity also confirms the topicality and importance of the efforts made in this direction.

The resolution stresses that at present a great proportion of kolkhozes and sovkhozes are vigorously mastering the intrafarm lease contract, and in 13 percent of the farms, all production structures have transferred to these principles of working. The lease is being actively taken on board in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan; Altay and Stavropol Krays, the Kalmyk ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], Tatarstan, and Orel Oblast in the Russian Federation; and Kirovograd, Odessa, and Cherkassy Oblasts in the Ukraine.

A stock of land belonging to local soviets of people's deputies has been formed at the local level and people who express a desire for land are being allocated plots.

Some 47,000 peasant farms have now been formed, totaling more than 1 million hectares. The area of personal subsidiary plots is expanding—major steps have been taken in this direction in the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. As a result, last year and in the first quarter of this year, the republic's agrarian sector ensured a steady increase in livestock raising output and the number of livestock. In the country as a whole the population, above all in major industrial centers and cities, has been given 1.3 million hectares of land for orchards and truck gardens, and the demands of 18.5 million families have been met.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat advocated land reform as a most important economic and political act. Many party organizations have vigorously joined in its practical implementation and are helping to carry out the land transformations. The activity of party committees in Rostov Oblast in this sphere was thoroughly examined and supported in the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat.

A study of the state of affairs at local level and discussion of this problem in the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Agrarian Policy indicate that conditions for the development of the new land relations are created more rapidly with Communists' assistance. This approach helps to strengthen the party's influence among rural dwellers and to form a mixed economy.

At the same time, on the whole, sluggishness is being displayed in implementing this highly important economic and political task. Something that is a factor here to a great extent is the commitment to uniformity in forms of economic activity that developed over a long period and the mentality hostile to a mixed economy that took shape on this basis. At the same time, vast tracts of lands are still ownerless and prey to erosion and woodland encroachment. Departmental affiliation still presents a difficult barrier to providing plots of land for citizens' use.

Nor is it possible to disregard the fact that opposing political forces are striving to exploit the difficulties in implementing the land reform for their own ends. The idea that land is being forcibly reallocated and kolkhozes and sovkhozes disbanded without taking peasants' interests into account is being foisted on society. This has exacerbated relations in the countryside in a number of places and pitted some forms of economic activity against others. There are instances of land being confiscated from kolkhozes and sovkhozes engaged in intensive crop farming, and land is being alienated from experimental farms belonging to research and higher educational establishments in violation of legislation.

Some party committee and Communist leaders in the agrarian sphere are themselves getting dragged into futile debates instead of taking considered actions and formulating constructive solutions. There are cases of rural party raykoms [rayon committees] and primary organizations failing to carry out purposeful explanatory work among the population and showing little concern to provide the requisite political support for the land reform under way in the country and to utilize the great potential of kolkhozes and sovkhozes for these purposes. The potential of Communists working in the soviets, deputies' commissions, and economic organs is not being fully realized.

It is noted that the mass media are allowing serious shortcomings in their coverage of the progress of land reform. Many articles on this subject are of an opportunist, populist nature and do not help consolidate political forces in favor of developing the country's food complex. The experience of working in new conditions of economic activity that has already been accumulated and the essence of the transformations regarding a unique means of production such as land are being poorly revealed.

Union republic communist party central committees and republic, kray, city, and rayon party committees are instructed to proceed in their organizational and mass political work on the basis that the consistent, competent implementation of land reform is the fundamental direction in contemporary agrarian policy.

Improving intrafarm structures in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agro-industrial enterprises, forming family farms and autonomous peasant farms, developing citizens' personal subsidiary plots, forming conditions for the effective functioning of the whole range of forms and methods of economic activity, and meeting the population's demand for plots of land must now be regarded as a most important factor for stabilizing the situation in the food market and in the country as a whole. It is deemed necessary to use all political means to help ensure that local soviets of people's deputies, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other land users do their utmost to promote the formation and realization of land reform stocks with a view to building up food.

Party committees must display concern in creating favorable economic conditions for the activity of diverse forms of economic activity and ensure top priority for the development of the agro-industrial sphere. Parity between the prices of industrial and agricultural output must be restored immediately in order to ensure the stable development of the agrarian sphere on this basis and more rapidly overcome the backwardness of the rural lifestyle.

The Secretariat advocated vigorous support for the desire of residents of cities and industrial centers to possess land for horticulture and truck gardening and individual and dacha construction.

Communist leaders Comrades V.I. Chernoivanov and A.A. Nikonov of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences respectively have been told to organize the elaboration of an economic mechanism ensuring that all land users are highly motivated to make efficient, rational use of land and above all step up commodity production of agricultural produce.

With the participation of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Policy Department, it is deemed important to formulate a program and organize a system for training cadres for the new mixed economy structures using the party educational establishment base.

It is recommended that party editorial collegiums and Communists working in the other mass media resolutely oppose tendentious debates linked with pitting some forms of economic activity against others and with attempts to impose the forcible shareout of land. The CPSU's position, as formulated by the 28th Congress, on forming a mixed agrarian economy and land reform must be openly set out and defended, and any attempts to exploit this topical program for personal ambitious purposes in order to continue fueling tension in the country must be exposed. The main criterion in the land transformations under way should be to ensure that they accord with the interests of the peasantry and all society and to increase food production.

CPSU Commission Debates State Control Removal

LD1805084491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1601 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Moscow, 17 May (TASS)—The agenda of a meeting of the CPSU Central Committee's standing socio-economic commision was determined by an issue on which the transition to a market economy largely depends: relaxation of state controls over ownership. The meeting took place today under the chairmanship of Vladimir Ivashko, deputy general secretary of the CPSU.

The participants in the conference were unanimous in their opinion that the reform of ownership must go ahead on the basis of a reinvigoration of socialism, by taking into consideration its social consequences, and by strictly observing existing legislation. It was also stressed that the removal of state controls over ownership is only possible under conditions of public consensus and of political and economic stability.

According to many participants in the discussion, the large-scale transformation of state property into private property would not correct the faults of overspecialization and concentration of production, while the introduction of private ownership of land and of the main industries of the national economy may lead the country to a gradual loss of economic independence.

The issue of protecting citizens, specifically those who in the course of privatization would not be able to use the advantages of an immediate control of property, for objective reasons, was particularly emphasized. In this connection, proposals were supported on a complex of social protection measures which should come in advance of privatization. They include an active state employment policy, guarantees of payment for work, and all the constitutional rights of citizens.

The commission decided that on the basis of the discussion and taking into consideration the law "On the main principles of removal of state controls and privatization of enterprises," which is to be adopted, it should prepare its own materials as guidelines for local party committees, which are being advised to increase their political influence on the process of removal of state controls, to safeguard social aspects of property reforms and strict adherence to the existing legislation, as well as to give assistance to grassroot organizations and individual communists in resolving specific issues.

KGB Spokesman Says New Security Law Necessary

LD1705192191 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 17 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—The law on Soviet state security bodies, passed on Thursday by the national parliament, is the first legal act in the history of the Soviet state that regulates the activity of state security bodies. It is urgently needed by society on the whole and all employees of the KGB, said General Aleksandr Karbaynov, head of the KGB's Public Relations Centre.

As for the social necessity, he said in a TASS interview, the law primarily provides a legal basis for exercising control over the activity of state security bodies by the Soviet president, the parliament, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and some other government agencies.

The law provides KGB officers with a legal basis for their activities in ensuring state security in the country.

It is also important that the law legally seals the sovereignty of the Union on the whole and the sovereignty of republics, delimiting the powers of Union and republican bodies of state security. At the same time, he said, the notion of state security means an integrated system which is needed to conduct intelligence.

The same applies to combatting organised crime, which penetrates many regions of the country and even extends beyond Soviet borders. Coordinating efforts of the republics in combatting this phenomenon, the general said, is a necessary condition of its success.

MVD Increases Efforts To Disarm Illegal Groups

LD1505155491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 15 May 91

[Text] A TASS correspondent was told at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] that work to uncover and foil the activities of illegal armed groupings and cases of the illegal manufacture and storage of weapons has been increased.

Jointly with the Ministry of Defense and KGB bodies, effective steps have been taken to fulfill the relevant decree of the USSR president. Since the start of the year, 44,000 firearms, more than 1.2 million pieces of ammunition, and Armored vehicles have been removed. Another 33 groupings have been disbanded.

Council of Primary Organization Secretaries Meets

PM1605123191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 91 First Edition p 1

[N. Kozhanov report: "Council of Secretaries"]

[Text] Urgent issues in the life and activity of grassroots party components have been discussed at the Council of Primary Party Organization Secretaries which was set up under the CPSU Central Committee in accordance with the provisions of the party statutes.

As is well known, the work of the CPSU party organization in conditions of a multiparty system and political confrontation has left these organizations facing many complex problems and has required that they largely revise their usual forms and methods of action.

On the basis of this, the secretaries' council defined the main avenues of its work. These include generalizing party organizations' practices in implementing their functions in labor collectives and at people's places of residence, taking part in solving economic and social problems during the transition to a market, and protecting the vital interests of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia. An important part of the work of the secretaries' council deals with generalizing experience and preparing proposals to develop primary organizations' autonomy, to master political methods of work among the masses, to take part in elections to soviets of people's deputies, to resolve cadre issues, and to collaborate with trade union, youth, and other social organizations and movements.

In short, there will be a great deal of very necessary work to do. The council elected a presidium and a chairman—V.V. Nosov, party committee secretary at the I.A. Likhachev Auto Plant in Moscow. V.A. Kuptsov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the council sessions.

PRAVDA on Meeting of Party Secretaries

PM1705093391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 91 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Vital, Concrete Work: Council of Primary Party Organization Secretaries Under the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] As already reported, the first sitting of the Council of Primary Party Organization Secretaries under the CPSU Central Committee was held at the CPSU Central Committee 12-13 May. There were about 50 people on the council representing union republic communist party central committees and party kray and oblast committees.

The sitting began with an examination of the results of the joint plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission. It was noted that these results have been greeted in different ways in party organizations. Even greater attention should be paid to their discussion at meetings of primary organizations and the party aktiv and at party committee plenums. It is important here not to allow the discussion to degenerate into the now customary trial of strength between the regions and the center. Party organizations' work must be resolutely directed toward specific actions in the working people's interests. The thesis of noninterference by party organizations in the production sphere should be abandoned. Indeed, it is in this sphere that primary party organizations can do much. Overcoming the alienation which has now arisen between the party and the modern worker and peasant movement depends directly on the renewal and revival of their activity. The discussion of the plenum's results and work to implement its decisions must strengthen the party and summon Communists to vigorous actions.

Then there was a thorough and open exchange of opinions on the full range of CPSU primary organizations' activity in the present crisis conditions.

The Secretaries Council decided to focus its attention this year on problems connected with party organizations' transition to political methods of work under the multiparty system, including work in opposition, and with the restructuring of party life on democratic principles. There was keen criticism of work with young people at all levels and the practice of mounting election campaigns. It was noted that party committees are not paying due attention to the experience of primary party organizations.

There was a discussion of the draft statute on the Secretaries Council and its members came to the conclusion that the council must show effectively that it is a methodological organ for the drafting of proposals on questions relating to the activity of primary party organizations and participation in elaborating major party documents.

The most important areas of the council's work are: generalizing the practical activity of party organizations in exercising their ideological, political, and organizational functions in labor collectives and in residential areas and in solving cadre questions; drafting proposals on the democratization of party life; preparing recommendations on party organizations' participation in soviet elections; studying the practical experience of cooperation between primary party organizations and trade union, youth, and other social organizations; generalizing the experience of party organizations' work in developing international relations; drafting proposals on improving party organizations' financial and economic activity; and drafting recommendations on training primary party organization secretaries.

The council will work in contact with CPSU Central Committee commissions and will make use of all documents and materials on the activity of primary party organizations. A timetable for the council's sittings has been drawn up—it will meet quarterly and before CPSU Central Committee plenums and the party conference.

Taking part in the meeting were Yu.A. Manayenkov and V.A. Kuptsov, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, and G.G. Veselkov, deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Control Commission.

Association of Republic Capitals Organized

LD1705075691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] An association of the capitals of Soviet republics has been set up. The constituent meeting in Moscow was attended by representatives of 13 city councils including those of Vilnius, Tallinn, and Riga. Only the leaders of Tbilisi and Ashkhabad were absent for valid causes, as was announced.

The new oganization will be a non-governmental and voluntary one. The association will be a channel for sharing experience, helping one another, and drafting legislation.

Ministry Fails To Pay for U.S. Sattelite Link

LD1505120991 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 14 May 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] I do not know about you, comrades, but I like the reports filed by Mikhail Taratuta, our correspondent in San Francisco. I think he is one of our best reporters. Just recently, however, he has found it more and more difficult to work and what is more, paradoxical as it may be, it is our own fault or rather, the fault of the Soviet Ministry of Communications.

[Tartuta] Dear viewers and friends, I am obliged to apologize to you, apologize for the fact that reports from San Francisco have recently been late in reaching you.

Until recently, we sent our material to Moscow, as we are supposed to, by satellite link. Directly from here, from this studio where we compile our reports, the television signal goes up, first, to an internal U.S. satellite, and then to international satellites, so as finally to reach your screens. As you will already have guessed, the satellite has to be paid for, paid for in hard currency, and on time, without fail. It is the Ministry of Communications that is supposed to pay for the satellite, it is true, from funds specially allocated for this purpose. As a result?

[Lehennan, co-owner of studio] Well, for over a year we have not been paid for the satellite. Our company is small and however much we might like to, we cannot bear such a debt.

[Taratuta] Not to receive payment for more than a year and not refuse credit is unthinkable for the United States. They did not refuse it, however, and continued to provide the link with Moscow. Perhaps they simply took an understanding attitude toward our difficulties. In any case, they put up with it for as long as they could. As of last month, however, we have had to send our material by mail service. It is for this reason, dear viewers, that you were late in seeing the report on the destruction of the last cruise missile in the United States. Not to mention items of curiosity, the report on the Russian prime minister's stay in the United States was shown only on the day of the delegation's return home.

If you think that it is a matter of millions [currency not specified], however, you are wrong—a mere 15,000. Even now it is a trivial amount for a ministry, moreover for the Ministry of Communications. So, dear communications staff, I would like to make a businesslike proposal to you: You pay what you owe to the U.S. studio, thereby restoring the satellite link and we, for our part, promise to show you a lot of material from the United States that is interesting, instructive, and simply curious. After all, you are television viewers in the evenings, too. [video shows satellite dishes, interior of studio, interview, clips from reports]

CPSU Situation 'More Serious Than It Appears'

PM1605094191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 91 Second Edition p 4

["Sharp View" by A. Melnikov, secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee; last three paragraphs are PRAVDA commentary: "Speaking Frankly About A Painful Subject"]

[Text] A. Pushkin's "Boris Godunov" contains the following episode from the Time of Troubles in the 17th century: Grigoriy Otrepyev (not the self-styled False Dmitriy, but the fugitive unfrocked monk) reads aloud the warrant for his arrest and substitutes fellow traveler Varlaam's details.

Listening to the statements made by many of our present-day "democrats," in which they try to ascribe all their distinguishing features and sins to others—the CPSU, the center, and the president—you can't help remembering this example and thinking: Isn't it time for us, like this Varlaam—"since things have come to the crunch"—to remember the warrant and begin to read for ourselves who's who?!

I am sure the time has come! I draw this conclusion on the basis of hundreds of meetings with workers, kolkhoz members, members of the intelligentsia, communists, party and soviet personnel, and economic leaders in 14 Russian oblasts from Kaliningrad to Khabarovsk, in the North, the Urals, and Siberia.

They feel pain for our country, our homeland, our future, for the party; there were trenchant discussions, sharp criticism, radical proposals, thousands of questions. The main one being: Can the humiliated, insulted party escape from its critical state? I want to be honest and frank and say something painful. The recent Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies and the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission plenum certainly prompts this discussion.

We often talk—and at great length too—about the situation within the party. We reproach communists with "sitting in the trenches" and failing to uphold their ideals. We frequently get reasonable comments in response to this: Tell us whom to attack, what side, and under whose leadership. Generally we confine our response to general phrases: Continue perestroyka, develop democracy and glasnost, reform the economy on market lines, etc.

Of course, time and life are great teachers and many party committees and party organizations are gradually restoring their prestige, taking concrete action, boosting communists' role in resolving highly acute problems relating to production, life, and people's living conditions, and fighting for civil accord and stability in society. But by and large the party is having no success and the situation within the party is, in my view, far more serious than it appears.

Amid the correct slogans advocating variety of opinion, the party has in fact ceased to be a cohesive, organized force capable of implementing the policy that has been formulated and defending its aims, which are a fusion of the fundamental interests of the working people.

In my view, this started after the 19th All-Union Party Conference when the organizing role played by the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat and Politburo slackened off and local party committees and party organizations were in effect cast to the whim of fate.

Rank-and-file communists are not to blame for ending up in the "trenches." It was primarily the party staff that moved deep into the "dugouts." The whole party found itself in a defensive position and sustained tremendous losses at the hands of its own ideological weapon—the press and other mass media, many of which were captured by the CPSU's political adversaries. The position held by former Central Committee Politburo members A.N. Yakovlev and V.A. Medvedev also played a role here. The emergence within the party ranks of a considerable number of provocateurs and faint hearts undermining its strength from within did it tremendous damage. The CPSU was drawn into what appeared at first glance to be topical intraparty debates that were nonetheless of little utility, distracting it from dealing destructive forces an organized rebuff.

Questions of discipline and responsibility and, along with them, unity of action were relegated to the back burner, giving way to talk of the power of the party masses. This slogan is undoubtedly attractive and correct per se, but it does not help to mobilize the party amid political struggle.

An independent detachment can at best decide "not to retreat at all"—which is what is currently happening within the CPSU. But it cannot advance without a clear knowledge of the overall task and the specific target and without a sense of support from its neighbor and the whole army. What is more, confidence is needed that it will not be betrayed at a difficult moment.

I am sure that communists are prepared to act even in this difficult situation. There are examples of this. Moscow's communist workers and party organizations throughout the country got up without orders from above to defend the V.I. Lenin Central Museum from annexation by leaseholders headed by CPSU Central Committee member P.G. Bunich.

Communists and thousands of readers did not allow the RSFSR Government to illegally seize SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA from the CPSU Central Committee. Most party organizations do not share the ideas of returning our economy to capitalism but firmly uphold the positions of socialist choice.

I am deliberately citing these examples, stressing their fundamental nature. If the party staff—the Central Committee—keeps quiet, communists themselves will act. So, the party is alive! But it will not run at full throttle until it is truly united and strong. Not a dull monolith, as our opponents try to depict it, but a constructive force with cohesive conscious discipline and responsibility. The Extraordinary Third Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies showed that it is these qualities that communists have been lacking in order to rebuff the anticommunist hysteria.

Drawing communists and nonparty members into the creative process, encouraging a very broad spectrum of assessments and positions during the discussion of the problems, and making vigorous use of them in formulating programs, the party and above all its Central Committee, Secretariat, and Central Committee Politburo has the task of consistently ensuring unity of action when carrying out adopted decisions, irrespective of the subjective opinion held by a communist of any rank.

I don't think that the prestige of the party and the Central Committee has been helped by the fact that the leaders of two parties from one republic—Estonia—including the leader of the new independent party separate from the CPSU, ended up on the CPSU Central Committee Politburo after the January Plenum. I think that this can be regarded as an attempt to split the CPSU under the slogan of uniting "social democratic left-wing forces."

As is well-known, former Communist S.S. Shatalin, until recently a CPSU Central Committee member, called for this kind of alliance along with F.M. Burlatskiy, a party functionary of long standing, and S.S. Alekseyev, chairman of the Constitutional Oversight Committee, who is not very conspicuous in supporting legality and law and order in the country and the measures to stabilize the situation, but does give advice on how to weaken the party led by the country's president. "Staunch social democrats" and those communists who remained in the CPSU after the 28th Congress on the so-called Democratic Platform are being called to join the alliance.

What program will the Social Democratic alliance and the CPSU Democratic Platform offer working people? The first aim to emerge is their desire to split the CPSU, make use of some of its structures, and thus drastically weaken the party. That is, to repeat the attempt to achieve something that was planned prior to the 28th CPSU Congress. The second aim is to unite so-called new left-wing forces, since the present-day "democratic" forces have by their recent decisions and actions confirmed once and for all that they are drifting from democracy toward dictatorship.

The "Democratic Russia," movement, which passes itself off as the people's main champion and is currently re-forming into a party, states frankly in its documents that it reflects the interests of private business—cooperative workers, leaseholders, and small enterprises. This movement's platform is anticommunism, its political program is the destruction of the CPSU and overt opposition to President M.S. Gorbachev and the USSR Supreme Soviet, and its aim is the seizure of power. In what capacity? Quite obviously, as representatives of the new bourgeoisie!

So, these new political forces effectively have the same ideological tenets and economic programs: "Democratic Russia" has "500 Days" and the Social Democratic alliance has the Shatalin program. As is well-known, both are programs that aim to return the economy to capitalism.

What fate lies in store for the CPSU and its Russian republic party organizations, whose program documents aim to express and defend the fundamental interests of all strata of society living on labor earnings?

I am sure that the main source of the current tension is the fact that the interests of the main producers of material and spiritual benefits—the personnel of major state enterprises and associations, the industrial and agrarian complexes, scientists and designers, teachers, medics, and cultural workers, the people who are the mainstay of social progress—have been violated. It is their low level of pay, which does not correspond to the crucial contribution they make to producing the national product against the backdrop of the boundless squandering of the people's material and cultural assets via new entrepreneurial structures of all types, that exacerbates social conflicts. The party must take this into consideration and focus its political activity on the interests of direct commodity producers and everyone who creates the conditions for them to work effectively. That is the fundamental difference between the CPSU and the emerging new political forces.

Isn't that why attempts are being made, following the West's example, to suppress the working people's party and crush it between two new and aggressive pro-bourgeois movements or, at the other extreme, to crucify it like Christ on the cross? It is mainly former party members who have betrayed their teacher and former convictions for 30 pieces of silver. It is after all at rallies that calls are heard for communists to be strung up, the CPSU to be wiped off the political map, and its primary organizations to be banned and disbanded. In Kaluga a man tainted by anticommunist propaganda killed honest communists I.I. Fomin and G.V. Golovkov with a sawed-off shotgun.

I consider these matters too serious to fail to note the dangerous new processes behind them and give way to homilies: Don't oppose, don't resist, don't... and so on. In short, "don't clamber out of the trenches."

The paradox in our situation is as follows: The Communist Party is being ostracized while advocating the consolidation of all progressive forces and the stability in society that is so needed to resolve the country's pressing socioeconomic problems and while initiating and guaranteeing the development of democracy and the formation of a multiparty system—something that no ruling party in the world has done. Its efforts to develop relations with other political forces on the principles of objectivity, justice, and tolerance are being badmouthed.

For instance, supporting the proposals submitted by 270 RSFSR people's deputies for an extraordinary congress to be held, the RSFSR Communist Party prepared for a businesslike discussion of the situation within the republic's economy and submitted its own proposals via the "Communists of Russia" deputies' group.

Unfortunately, starting with the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman's report, attempts were made to divert the congress into political slogans and accusations against the Communist Party and the systems and positions upheld by the center. The main question being: Can the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and government display political wisdom and maturity, draw conclusions from the sharp and critical assessment of their activity, and avoid another round of political confrontation instead of resolving urgent problems in people's lives. The RSFSR Communist Party is prepared for active work to overcome the crisis situation within the republic's economy.

It is clear now that, since initiating perestroyka, the CPSU has come under critical fire from destructive forces. But it has weathered the storm and is gaining momentum. It is no accident that the "democrats" have begun to fuss about and say that they need a powerful party to do away with the CPSU (and perestroyka at the same time). "When we have 10 million members, we'll talk to the Communists!...," N.I. Travkin prophesies. Who will become a member of that party if it defends the interests of the entrepreneur, the businessman, and the proprietor? They will. But there aren't very many of them at the moment! So, state property must be privatized and sold in haste to those people who have the money, a third class must be formed, workers canvassed to leave the CPSU, their cells expelled from enterprises, and the new party's structures implanted in their stead. A strict party, moreover, based on firm discipline.

Do workers and peasants realize what the "democrats'" ultimate goals are?

Will workers and peasants last out in that party apart from the leaders of worker committees that serve the new forces and have organized political strikes against the president, the USSR Supreme Soviet and government, the USSR, and the CPSU and in favor of departyizing the Army, the KGB, and law-enforcement organs?

I must tell communist workers who are loyal to the party, those who have quit (unthinkingly), young people starting on life—don't seek to gain in the new parties. They will represent the employers' interests and uphold their goals. They do not have and will not have any interest in working people's concerns. Their slogans ensnare politically immature people. By helping to destroy the CPSU, workers will destroy their own champion. And on the eve of the market!

It was said at the RSFSR Communist Party Congress that workers, communists, and nonparty members should realize that the CPSU is their party and that they must cleanse it of all the trash that has accumulated over the last few years. Representatives of all manner of political trends and their renegades are abusing and running down our party not only for the mistakes it has made, but also for being a strong party that poses an obstacle to those people who want to destroy the party today and thus break up our country.

As you can see, only six months have elapsed and this aim has been put forward and is being implemented. The "democrats" urged people to vote against the USSR in the referendum. Such is the truth of life and political struggle. The RSFSR Communist Party says this openly and consistently.

Note, the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee has also found itself on the receiving end from regular and irregular champions of "democracy." CPSU Central Committee member O.P. Latsis, missing no opportunity—starting with the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress—to oppose its positions, even in the nonparty press, is noted for the close attention he pays to the Russian Communists' affairs.

The situation within the CPSU is, certainly, critical. The poisoned fragments of political pluralism are doing their work. Organizationally the party has been reduced to the state of a "jelly." There is no end to the breaches of party discipline.

The CPSU is losing vocational personnel in droves, valuable organizers, propagandists, and agitators; young people are leaving. The most dangerous thing is that the primary link is collapsing—party committee secretaries are leaving in droves.

Recent CPSU Central Committee plenums, including the one that just took place, allow me to say once again that there is still a gap between the Central Committee and the Politburo, between the Politburo and the general secretary. The supreme organ of party collective leadership has still not really embarked on discussing and formulating decisions relating to the most important questions in the country's life.

The president's desire to rely in his activity on all political forces is correct in principle. But that does not remove the need for more constructive cooperation with the party that recommended its leader for the presidency and bears responsibility for the policy that he pursues. What is more, the facts attest that many "friends" who pray to two gods and various parties at the same time have already wormed their way into the crack between the president and the Central Committee. Some move from place to place. I am being frank here since who but we Communists, party comrades, can tell one another the truth straight, however hard it may be. I realize that all these comments are bound to elicit more labels. But if we're afraid of that and organize policy solely in order not to provoke accusations from our political opponents, it will not be our policy but the policy that they dictate. There are, regrettably, more than enough examples of the kind in our recent activity.

One being the formation at the Congress of Russian People's Deputies of the "Communists for Democracy" group headed by A.V. Rutskiy, member of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee. Charging the "Communists of Russia" group with conservatism, the new parliamentary faction effectively expressed solidarity with the anticommunist ideas voiced in the report by the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and failed to make any constructive proposals as regards the main issue of how to extricate the republic from the state of crisis.

I am sure that only on the basis of direct, honest, and open discussion, free from intrigue and intolerance, can we assess the situation correctly and formulate effective measures. But we must recognize that unity—without which progress is inconceivable—is impossible without fundamental demarcation. Especially since within a multiparty system discipline within the party must not slacken off but grow stronger, and demands on communists increase. Communists who have left the party under psychological pressure or who have grown disillusioned with its ability to defend their corner cannot be equated with those who, after leaving its ranks, have embarked on the road of anticommunism and active struggle with the CPSU, a road that leads to the breakdown of the state. I think that for the sake of historical justice such turncoats should be expelled from party ranks—and primary party organizations should not be bypassed when doing this.

Since it was first set up the Russian Communist Party has set itself the task of preserving a unified and renewed CPSU and USSR, along with a powerful, sovereign, politically educated, friendly Russia, and of firmly abiding by the course of the 28th party congress. It is striving to unite and rally everyone who values our homeland around this aim.

This work will only be successful with a healthy, strong party. People do not rally around weaklings; they are pushed aside. If we do not investigate our ranks and strengthen party fellowship and discipline from top to bottom, if we do not pool the efforts of rank-and-file communists and the party leadership, if we do not strengthen the party organizationally, we will not escape from the crisis and will not accomplish the tasks we have set ourselves.

I would like the royalties for this article to be paid into the people's fund "For the Defense of the V.I. Lenin Museum."

Our Commentary

It must be admitted that there are plenty of people who support the author's view of the reasons why the situation within the CPSU has grown complex and the ways of escaping from the crisis. These views were also reflected in a number of speeches at the recent Central Committee plenum. One is bound to agree with many of his arguments and ideas. However, a number of questions arise on which we ask PRAVDA's readers to voice their opinion. In particular, how justifiable is it to traditionally ascribe virtually all the difficulties and miscalculations to "headquarters," to the CPSU Central Committee leadership? The 28th party congress accorded extensive rights to all primary organizations, republic and other party committees. Are they all utilizing these opportunities and do they fully realize their responsibility for the state of affairs at local level? Have they been able to find the correct tone in their relations with the soviets and other sociopolitical movements? It is indisputably necessary today to resolutely reinforce organization and discipline within the party and reinforce party fellowship. Strict accountability is needed from those whose actions are damaging CPSU prestige. But, as readers write to the editorial office: It is often precisely the people who seek new, irregular approaches, destroying outmoded stereotypes of thinking and action, that are the "offenders."

To go on. We know that the author has already published his work in a number of oblast newspapers. Nevertheless we decided to print a version of the article since, regrettably, the extreme "black-and-white" views are typical and merit the whole party's attention. We are convinced that it is not extreme opinions (either-or) or endless quests for culprits or nostalgia for the past that are needed now. We cannot return to the past; it is impossible to reverse the difficult processes under way in society. Today, in our view, it is necessary to undertake daily background work and really master the science of management and new democratic methods. The editorial office invites readers to take part in discussing the question of renewing the party and increasing its influence and prestige in society.

Bakatin Urges 'Commonsense' Policy Stances Policy

PM1605104191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 May 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with Vadim Bakatin, member of the Security Council, by observer Pavel Gutiontov; place and date not given: "Principles and Common Sense"]

[Text] [Gutiontov] Vadim Viktorovich, you spoke recently of the need to follow a "policy of common sense." What do you understand by such a policy with regard to the situation today?

[Bakatin] What I meant, above all, was that ideology or certain principles to which a particular party or a particular political movement adheres must not be placed ahead of panhuman or all-people interests. A commonsense policy means finally ending arguments over trifles, over a particular term—what is more "socialistic" or more "capitalistic." And there is no point in inventing the bicycle when the objective laws of development have been understood. You sometimes have to sacrifice your principles, on which you were brought up from the age of a young pioneer...

And if we speak about what a commonsense policy must be, there will be no revelations. Everything is clear and unambiguous. It means general democratic principles which, naturally, must also extend to the economy and, if the economy is democratic, it means a market economy, to some extent free from diktat and from the imposition of what ruins it.

[Gutiontov] And yet all the arguments are taking place today precisely over something you consider clear and unambiguous. Over democratization, over the market... It is sufficient to recall certain speeches at the last Central Committee plenum...

[Bakatin] The truth is born of arguments. Naturally, these arguments are also taking place within the party, and the party has also been divided. Gorbachev was right to say at the plenum: "There are four 'parties' here in the hall." I do not know how he counted four. But there probably were two or three. It is a matter of something that is becoming obvious: We must not blindly follow dogmas and theories, though they be brilliant theories and—I do not dispute—correct for their time. But the world has now moved on a very long way, you know. And, to be totally frank, with our loyalty to theories we have ended up at the tail end of world civilization.

Of course, the optimum version of perestroyka would be as follows: If the party, which really was the leading and directing force, preserving itself as an instrument and preserving itself as a political party but realizing the ineffectiveness of the path originally chosen, were to deem it necessary to make corrections to it. That is, if it were to make the switch from not recognizing private ownership to permitting private ownership, from the fullest socialization (it was believed that the more ownership was socialized, the more socialism there was), etc. This would be a far more painless path.

But the party did not take this path. The desire to preserve at least a semblance of allegiance to all its old gods played a nasty trick. It has turned out in the end that the party is being transformed from the vanguard and the initiator of perestroyka into the rearguard. True, this thesis is now easily refuted by the new "logic" which maintains that to go "forward" to the market, to qualitatively new labor productivity, to social guarantees, and to a rule-of-law state is in effect merely to go "back..." We have already had all that, apparently.

It would be possible to agree that we have. But it would be interesting to know where it has gone.

And the party could have been the force that was capable of painlessly making the transition to a multiparty system or even assisting the development of a multiparty system, if you like.

[Gutiontov] But do you believe that this would have been possible?

[Bakatin] Yes, if that very common sense had triumphed in the party's leading echelons. But these hopes proved illusory. The party continued to stick to its leading and directing role. And even at that plenum these words were heard again: "It is necessary to adopt a law on the ruling party." I really cannot understand such things. I totally disagree with them. There is the law on political parties and one on the Supreme Soviet, there is the law on elections. If you win an election, you realize your ideas and your programs through state institutions.

And yet the party missed the opportunity for the most painless, smoothest transition from one state to another (although this is a lengthy process, I say once again).

[Gutiontov] Vadim Viktorovich, what do you have in mind when you talk about the party? The leadership at Politburo level, or the Central Committee apparatus, or the 19 million ordinary communists at that time?

[Bakatin] Our party was raised on the principle of one-man management. Of course I do not have in mind the ordinary communists, the overwhelming majority of whom are, I believe, decent people. Maybe you will find some 1 million careerists—maybe, I don't know. This was the most politically active, most sober-minded section of society, people who did their work honestly.

I am talking about the party leadership. Precisely the leadership. Not only the Politburo, no. And not only the Central Committee. The local, oblast committee hierarchy, from where I myself came, also did not understand: They wondered to whom they should cede power there, to which "informals"? Who is against that? There was no need to cede power. They should struggle for power, but in a legitimate, democratic way.

[Gutiontov] What is your attitude to the proposals to convene a "roundtable," which would unite all the real forces in society?

[Bakatin] You know, we are greatly hindered by our long-standing habituation to "unity," so to speak. "Whoever is not with us is against us," we think. An anticommunist should, at best, be behind bars. And if our opponent is a little bit of a social democrat—my god, it's a nightmare. But why, in fact, can we not talk with social democrats? We are ready to cooperate with Brandt, say, but we cannot understand that there can be people in our own country who share social democratic views. I would not reject the idea of a "roundtable," which is a good one—but, I will elaborate, only as an idea for political consultations to elaborate the overall optimum tactic and strategy, by means of mutual concessions and compromises, above all in the economy. I am against turning a "roundtable" into some supraconstitutional organ of power standing above everything.

[Gutiontov] But you said recently that you agree with Pavlov and cannot yet see people who can emerge into this "negotiating ring" and occupy seats around this table.

[Bakatin] That really is so, you know... Although it is probably not quite accurate. Everything is relative. I meant that there really are no political forces commensurate in scale with the CPSU. But the intellectual potential of an organization is not measured in the number of its members.

The "joint statement" by Gorbachev and nine republic presidents is also to some extent, maybe, an element of a "roundtable..." Maybe political parties and public movements will join in this process later.

One way or another, an opportunity has now emerged. It is very good that the center has finally shown readiness to cooperate with the republics and, in particular, with Russia. This is the first point. And, second, we must return to the course from which we apparently departed as of last fall and which culminated in Vilnius in January—to reliance on democrats.

To put it more briefly, not confrontation with the republics but cooperation with the republics. Not war on democrats but cooperation with them. Not flight from the market, nor all sorts of provocative ploys like the "millionaires' club" but a serious, optimum, considered, long-term program of nonviolent transition to the market.

[Gutiontov] Vadim Viktorovich, you have been saying recently—and you have just repeated—that you consider it necessary to restore relations between the state leadership and the "so-called" democrats. And at the same time the president adheres—outwardly, at any rate—to the well-known theses of his Minsk speeches...

[Bakatin] Incidentally, he made three speeches in Belorussia, but for some reason the third one was not published. And if Gorbachev "flayed" the democrats, pardon me, in his speech to the Academy of Sciences, he later "pulled back" many things with regard to them.

But in principle I can say: Gorbachev himself is, above all, a democrat. I am convinced of this, because I am in daily contact with him. He is not a dictator, not someone who thinks only about how to crush everyone now. It is another matter that he is frequently driven into a corner and left without support. And sometimes he really is forced to take measures which in actual fact have little in common with democracy. It is not quite an apt example, but the military action in Moscow 28 March, the day the Russian Congress opened... There is no way I can even explain why that was done. I just cannot...

[Gutiontov] Vadim Viktorovich, about the statement of the "nine plus one." There are suggestions that this was a purely tactical step, a compromise connected with the plenum above all, that the statement has no real significance, etc. How firm, in your view, are the contracting parties in their desire for compromise and cooperation?

[Bakatin] Well, this is a difficult question... Although its first part is really very easy. I do not consider the "statement of the ten" a tactical step just before the plenum. Absolutely not. I know this for sure, because the issue—the need to reach agreement with the republics—had long been present in our discussions. There is no other way, and it is time to stop fighting. If you do not agree on something, concede to each other. Even let the center alone concede to the republics. But in order to take the course which you have together deemed correct. Because in the final analysis the republics also believe that the Union is needed, but a **different** Union... No, this is of far greater significance than any tactical move. Although, of course, Gorbachev would have had a far harder time at the plenum if it had not been for the statement.

Now the question: How serious are the intentions of the contracting parties, and to what extent will this influence the development of events? It will influence it if the ideas enshrined in the agreement start to be realized. If it does not sink, like many of our other documents which have produced some spark of hope but which we have then forgotten somewhere behind the everyday matters and not realized. It must be realized. That is all there is to it. At present we are being slow. Of course, a mass of difficulties lies ahead. For example, some legislators are now in a panic: What will happen to us? I do not know what will happen. There will be the constitution, which the legislators themselves will adopt.

[Gutiontov] Incidentally, does it not seem to you that when the soviets were afforded the opportunity to work, we saw that all these legislatures in every village, legislatures in every city are frequently capable only of drowning any matter in talk? This concerns the democratic Leningrad or Moscow City Soviets, the Russian Supreme Soviet, the "big" Supreme Soviet... It seems to me that all our actions are now being blocked not only by the party apparatus but also by the congenital inability of our organs of people's power to really do anything...

[Bakatin] I even think that this second point takes first place. The "intrigues" of the party apparatus are somewhat more remote. Because the party apparatus can hardly do anything now, and can act by no means everywhere. And there is the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!"—when each soviet aspires precisely to all power...

I see three problems here. The first is that a hierarchy, a vertical hierarchy, really is needed and must somehow be legitimated. Because a lower soviet must not disobey or even repeal a higher soviet's decision, yet this happens pretty frequently in our country.

The second question is also a perfectly obvious question, and you yourself have already named it. It is the merging of legislative and executive power. They must be clearly delimited.

And the third question, so to speak, is the correlation between democracy and, maybe, representation and professionalism. Because it is, of course, possible to elect likable, nice people as deputies. They will have stood at a lectern all their lives and delivered lectures, and so their mental activity is organized in such a way that they can deliver a speech without notes, off the cuff, and at once summon up applause; but they are absolutely not administrators or professionals who can tackle, let's say, the problem of garbage disposal in Moscow.

[Gutiontov] But I really do think that garbage disposal is not up to the soviet...

[Bakatin] Of course the executive authority must tackle that.

[Gutiontov] And no Moscow City Soviet decisions need be adopted in this regard.

[Bakatin] Evidently not. The relevant structures must have the responsibility. These structures must be divided. And then we will build executive power as follows: There is a mayor, and he decides on his own team of professionals. I, for example, am not opposed to such a scheme. It is approved. But, on the other hand, and I have already spoken of this, vertical cosubordination is also needed. You still cannot manage without that.

[Gutiontov] You are now a member of the Security Council, and prior to this appointment you were a member of the Presidential Council, i.e. you are one of Gorbachev's closest advisers. And you emphasized in your plenum speech that "the main presidential team is seated here," that "at present there is no other presidential apparatus that can be even slightly commensurate with the Central Committee apparatus in terms of strength," while "the apparatus of the Cabinet of Ministers is out of the reckoning" and, moreover, "is at present working against the president rather than for the president." Is this really so?

[Bakatin] Recently absolutely everything rested on the party apparatus. If it was necessary to unload cars, cars were unloaded; if it was necessary to clear snow, snow was cleared. This system worked magnificently. It only took a single coded message from the Central Committee, and everything was set in motion in an instant. But now... What does the president have? To whom will the president send coded messages? What kind of apparatus does he have here? Two small departments: a juridical-legal department and a socioeconomic analysis department. There are 12 people in one, and 16 in the other, if my memory does not betray me. Plus five or six personal advisers. And two free [svobodnyy] members of the Security Council: Bakatin and Primakov. And Bakatin has two assistants. Is it really possible to compare this with the scale of the Old Square [address of CPSU Central Committee], which used to have everything: As Gorbachev put it, even an "organosilicon acids" sector. It had everything. No, let's be realistic: These apparatuses are simply not comparable. As regards the structures of the Cabinet of Ministers, believe me, they are still largely in the past and, like oaks, they have put their roots down into these leather armchairs. Do you understand? The mentality of centralism, a proscriptive mentality still prevails in them: "Give nothing, permit nothing," do not give up power but rake it in. I do not wish to say that they are bad people, that they are some kind of criminals. They sincerely believe that this is how they must work: issue, collate, add up, count percentages, etc.

I believe that it was a mistake to abolish the Presidential Council. It had not yet begun working in earnest but had already become a thorn in some people's flesh. Of those who just could not understand how it was that they still seemed to be somewhere on the sidelines...

And now the Security Council... Maybe it would have been better first to think out the statute on it and its relations with all other structures and only then to adopt the decision... But never mind, everything will settle down. It must have its own strong information and analysis group working round the clock, because, to be honest, the presidency power does not today have an information culture. The president now receives information from various sources, and no one processes this information in earnest. There are no forecasts, long-term or short-term. To place such "talmuds"—one institution, another institution—on his desk all the time: This is not for the president. I recently received some Americans, who said: "You must not place more than one small page on a problem on the President's desk..."

[Gutiontov] That is, what do you believe should be included in the functions of the Security Council apparatus?

[Bakatin] It must keep its own, independent eye on the situation, only not on the entire situation as a whole but on precisely those processes which potentially contain a germ of unpleasantness for the state. We must keep track of this. And provide the president with options for resolving the problem where it is necessary to intervene. But we cannot duplicate the work of the Cabinet of Ministers.

[Gutiontov] Let us return to the statement on relations with the republics. At that same plenum you supported Nazarbayev, and, incidentally, everyone is watching with great hope what he is doing in Kazakhstan. To what extent is the center now "slackening the reins" on the republics?

[Bakatin] I do not think that the center is slackening the reins very much now. But the whole trouble is that they no longer have any reins. We are wrong to say that the center does not give anything to anyone. But to Nazarbayev? You say: We are watching him hopefully—and I agree with that. But why does Nazarbayev not particularly complain about the center? Criticize, but not complain? At least he is still independent with regard to surrendering land or not and to resolving privatization questions or not. It is another matter that, in my opinion, not all republics always have sufficient responsibility for the independence which they have already obtained.

Look: All have declared the priority of their laws over Union laws. And this led, in the end, to paralysis. But, starting with Lithuania, the center continued to pretend that nothing had happened. That Lithuania remained, that the prosecutor's office there was Soviet, the laws were Soviet, and the constitution was Soviet. But Lithuania did its own thing. And two-tier laws came about. Some possessed real force because they were supported by the majority, while others were simply declared and existed "on paper." And this was manifested most clearly, perhaps, in Lithuania. It is less clear in other republics, but something similar is happening everywhere.

This is no good at all now. All the same, the way out is for normal people to sit down in a normal way (we will return again to this common sense), realizing that there is an actual reality—an economy held together by millions of threads which cannot be broken in a single night. If people start living in isolation, it will be necessary to organize a subsistence economy everywhere. At the same time this process could still deepen. It could result (and is resulting, incidentally) in each oblast's setting up its own customs office.

Of course, it is abnormal that someone has kept everyone else in such a state for 70 years that they have not dared to utter a word; but now an opportunity has suddenly appeared and everyone is in a hurry to take advantage of it. It will probably pass, this period of some stupefaction with "sovereigntyness." It will probably pass. People will nonetheless be sure to understand that we will, all the same, have to live together.

[Gutiontov] I will venture a risky question: What is your forecast for the end of the year from the viewpoint of preserving the Union?

[Bakatin] I am absolutely convinced that the Union will be preserved.

[Gutiontov] And in what form?

[Bakatin] It cannot be preserved in the form in which it was—having been imposed from above. I believe that the process of unification and integration is a natural process. When people live, they realize that it is easier, simpler, more convenient, and, if you like, freer for them to live together than when I have to run to the village soviet for a visa every time I want to travel to the neighboring village.

But, naturally, unification can take place today only on absolutely voluntary principles. Because if we were to say at once that anyone who wants to can leave, then there would be no one to struggle against. Then people would start thinking: What is more advantageous for me—to leave or to remain all the same? Because the railroad will not be cut, and the power transmission line and the gas pipeline will still be there.

In short I am convinced that there is, all the same, no alternative to a voluntary Union. If Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, let us suppose, do not wish to join it, let them not join it. And I believe that it is not absolutely essential for all those that remain to have a single standard. Someone might say: "I disagree that we should have a common militia." Good luck to you, you have your own militia: The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs is not bothered about you. Uniformity is not obligatory. There could be different degrees of freedom. But it is already becoming clearly apparent that, if I do not join this Union, economic relations with me will be on a quite different level. And, incidentally, this is far better than all the appeals to make the republics think whether it is worth adopting rash decisions. People will begin to reckon and not shout.

But for the time being we still think that, if we hold someone by force, we will be able to hold on. And it is we ourselves who mess things up. Because we raise the pressure all the time and raise a response of nonacceptance, instead of endeavoring, above all, to preserve good relations. We have always had good relations. And they have been preserved among normal people, roughly speaking. I have so many Estonian friends, I know them well, and I have relatives living there, in Estonia. My God, who is against living well? No one.

[Gutiontov] And the final question, around which there have been so many rumors: Are you seeking nomination for the Russian presidency?

[Bakatin] It is not I who am putting forward my candidacy, but working people's collectives. This is a serious question. I will give the answer in the very near future.

New Independent Newspaper Published

LD1605133991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 16 May 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The first issue of RUSSKIY GOLOS, a new independent newspaper, is out in Ulyanovsk. The editorial board chose as its credo something that Vladimir Solovev, a prominent Russian thinker, said: Russia is more than a people—it is a people that has gathered around itself other peoples.

Economic

Shcherbakov on Economic Crisis, Upcoming Measures

LD1705220091

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian at 1915 GMT on 17 May broadcasts a 15-minute interview with V.I. Shcherbakov, USSR first deputy prime minister, by Valeriy Kiosa, on the government's program for getting the Soviet Union out of its economic crisis. After recapping the progress made so far and the known plans in this direction, Shcherbakov is asked about the question of privatization and the removal of state control. He says:

"Removal of state control is perhaps one of the main and most fundamental questions in getting the economy out of the crisis. We cannot today leave the material and technical resources under the old method. We cannot and should not fix the price of every screw. We cannot and do not want to deal with this question, to directly regulate the wages at every factory, as used to be the case. This is the business of the collectives themselves. But this requires that they be autonomous. So, removal of state control is the primary question in the program. Quite a lot of space is taken up by this. The main thing is that in the next few days we are to complete work on interrepublic agreements and Union republic agreements, in which we will separate the functions on the removal of state control, and define the procedure of this process.

"It is envisioned that the main forms of removal of state control will be the issue of shares. I mean that given big industrial production, this is the main question. At first, the labor collectives must be actively involved in this work including the inhabitants of the towns where these factories are located. Of course, there should be a parallel and very rapid privatization of the system of trade, catering, consumer services for the population, and of small enterprises. We have set ourselves the task in the sphere of small-scale privatization to privatize in the course of this year no less than one-third of all enterprises, so that by the middle of next year, some 70 to 75 percent of enterprises in this sphere will be subject to being freed from state control."

Asked what forms of ownership there should be in small business, Shcherbakov says whatever form is appropriate, as long as it is permitted by law—cooperative, private, or joint stock company. We will help in this because not everyone can afford to buy a shop, and so forth.

Kiosa says we are all expecting tough measures in order to get out of the crisis, and asks Shcherbakov what measures these are. Shcherbakov says there will be a cleanup of the budgets. He adds: "In the last two or three years, a considerable proportion of the bodies of power and executive bodies at all levels have been behaving toward the state like pirates who have captured a city for three days for plunder. We are squandering what we received from our fathers, and are having a good time at the expense of our grandchildren." We are therefore proposing, beginning the second half of the year, a special regime of financing executive power, and a sharp cut in budget expenditure, while maintaining spending on education, health, and culture, Shcherbakov says.

On money-losing enterprises, he says that by June the drafting of special programs on liquidating losses is to be completed. We shall determine what sums to give and people will have to know that they are given a particular sum for half a year, and after that they will have to cope as best they can. Shortly, a bankruptcy bill will be passed and an enterprise declared bankrupt will be bought by whoever can afford it, Shcherbakov stresses.

On social protection, Shcherbakov says that in the next few days the president's decree on the minimum consumer budget will come out, and today and tomorrow the Supreme Soviet will be submitted a bill on the indexation of incomes. He explains the indexation of incomes of the underprivileged and those on fixed incomes.

He says the measures being taken will make it possible, by the fall, to stabilize the work of the basic industries and bring their daily output to the norm achieved in 1989. Vital industries, food, medicine—light industry, too, perhaps—will stabilize output by the fall, so that daily output in these industries will be normal and so that by mid-1992 the situation should be sharply changed.

Pavlov Denies Emergency Measures Needed

OW1705101091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 16 may 91

[Text] Soviet Premier Valentin Pavlov has denied that emergency economic measures have to be taken. He told a news conference in Moscow on Thursday that "all that has to be done is to switch a number of industries to a special work regime."

Pavlov observed that "it will not be easy" to compensate for the losses incurred through the recent wave of coal miners' strikes. He said "I am absolutely confident that many mines are irrevocably out of operation. Let local miners themselves settle scores with the organizers of the strikes."

In reply to a question about money emission, the Premier cited the following figures: Of the 25 billion rubles printed in 1990, 3 billion has already been withdrawn from the circulation (not considering the results of last February's exchange of 100- and 50- ruble notes, a measure which he said "has exposed the economic areas afflicted by criminal activity.")

Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shcherbakov, the future head of the Ministry of the Economy and Economic Analysis which is to replace the current State Planning Committee, told the news conference that he "will press for cuts in the budget of the military-industrial complex." He said he would also work for a 30 percent reduction in the aggregate spending on the maintenance of management structures. As a first step in that direction, he would ask the national parliament to cut down expenses connected with the maintenance of the corps of People's Deputies at all levels, re- channelling the released money into the pension funds.

Journalists attending the conference were told that Vladimir Shcherbakov and the presidential adviser Yevgeniy Primakov would leave one of these days for the United States to discuss the Soviet Union's possible cooperation with the Great Seven. According to the Deputy Premier, President Gorbachev and ex-Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze "have actively worked on plans for cooperation with G7 during the past year."

Vorkuta Mines Operating, Problems Remain

LD1805222891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 May 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In regard to the country's economy following the presidential decree on urgent stabilization measures, a TASS correspondent reports from Vorkuta that all 13 mines of the Vorkutaugol association are working, but that by today only five of them had restored the planned volumes of coal extraction. Since the start of the year, fuel losses have been large. To the great disappointment of miners, other consequences of the strike are emerging. The work face for coal extraction has not been prepared for a long time, machinery and equipment that stood idle frequently malfunction, and a great deal of effort is being extended on repairs in drifts and pit faces. The result is enforced downtime and disruption of targets. Specialists think that at least another month will be needed before the Vorkuta enterprises can return to their normal work rhythm. The sad result of the miners strikes, which in no small degree gave rise to the adoption of the presidential decree, is a serious lesson for many people, cooling down the thirst for strikes. For many this is true, but not for all.

Scientific

Manned Soyuz Spacecraft Launched

LD1805125991 Moscow TASS in English 1254 GMT 18 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—The Soviet Soyuz TM-12 spaceship has just been fired off from the Baykonur Cosmodrome. The spaceship carries a Soviet-British crew consisting of Soviet Cosmonauts Anatoliy Artsebarskiy, Sergey Krikalev and British woman cosmonaut Helen Sharman.

Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov, who have worked for six months in space, are waiting for them aboard the Mir space station where the mixed team will work for six days.

Crew Describes Scheduled Activities

LD1705203991 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Baikonur Space Centre May 17 TASS—The State Commission on Friday named the Soviet-British crew, which will blast off on Saturday at 15:52 Moscow time [1252 GMT] in a Soyuz TM-12 craft from the Baikonur space centre in Central Asia.

The crew consists of Commander Lieutenant-Colonel Anatoliy Artsebarsky (call sign "Ozon"), engineer Sergey Krikalev and British researcher Helen Sharman.

Colonel Aleksandr Volkov, Aleksandr Kaleriy and Timothy Mace are in the stand-by crew.

At a news conference in Baikonur, the cosmonauts described the programme to be carried out aboard the Soviet orbiting Mir space station during four and a half months.

The Soviet-British flight is its first stage. Sharman will spend six days on board the station, conducting scientific experiments.

Artsebarskiy and Krikalev will take over the Mir space station from Musa Manarov and Viktor Afanasyev, who will return to earth together with Sharman.

The new crew will carry out an extensive scientific programme, which includes space exploration and scientific experiments and repair and assembly work on the station's outer surface to move solar batteries to a new place.

Their "wings" prevent the space shuttle Buran from docking with the station, which is a major part of the Buran's scheduled flight.

Systems Normal, Cosmonauts Well

LD1805141191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1331 GMT 18 May 91

[Text] Moscow, 18 May (TASS)—According to the official report issued on today's launch of the Soyuz TM-12 spacecraft, the on-board systems of the ship are working normally. Anatoliy Artsebarskiy, Sergey Krikalev, and Helen Sharman are well.

The docking of space vehicles is scheduled for 20 May.

Initial Rendezvous Maneuver Completed

LD1905120291 Moscow TASS in English 1143 GMT 19 May 91

[By unidentified TASS special correspondent from the Mission Control Center]

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS—The Soyuz TM-12 spaceship continues its flight with the Anglo-Soviet space crew on board.

Over the past 24 hours Anatoliy Artsebarskiy, Sergey Krikalev and Helen Sharman performed routine operations to check the serviceability of the on-board systems and the air-tightness of the spaceship's compartments. They carried out a two-pulse initial rendezvous manoeuvre towards the orbital complex Mir.

The parameters of the spaceship's orbit following the manoeuvre are as follows:

—maximum distance from the Earth's surface—333 kilometers,

—minimum distance from the Earth's surface—264 km,

—orbital period—90.2 minutes,

—inclination—51.6 degrees.

Meanwhile Soviet cosmonauts Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov on board the Mir are having a day off today, without research or experiments. They are having a rest, doing physical exercises and preparing to host the visiting crew.

An estimated time of the two spacecraft's docking is 1725 on Monday, May 20.

Baltic Republics

Estonian CP Discusses Baltic Congress

LD1705104591 Moscow TASS in English 1032 GMT 17 May 91

[By TASS Correspondent Alesandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn May 17 TASS—The results of a congress held by the communist parties of the Soviet Baltic republics in Riga on April 27 have been discussed here at an enlarged meeting of the Secretariat of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

Participants in the meeting, which was presided over by Lembit Annus, Politburo member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Estonian Communist Party chief, expressed support for the joint statement of the president of the USSR and the leaders of nine republics on urgent measures to stabilise the situation in the country and overcome the crisis.

Proceeding from the documents adopted at the congress in Riga, participants in the Secretariat meeting singled out main directions of the work of Estonian Communist Party organisations in the near future: to launch a movement among work collectives and the population of the republic for Estonia's accession to the Soviet Union and to work for full restoration of USSR and Estonian constitutions.

Special attention at the meeting here was devoted to counteracting anti-Soviet, separatist and nationalist forces.

It is essential to press for the abrogation of all legal acts that violate human rights and to curb the ideology and policy of totalitarianism, speakers emphasised.

Estonian Government Initiates Justice Reform

LD1705084591 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1400 GMT 16 May 91

[Excerpt] The Estonian Government session decided today to hand over two draft laws to the Supreme Soviet board. The draft laws concern courts of law and the judge's status. This will initiate a law courts reform. The present situation has been taken into account in the drawing up of the draft laws on courts of law reform and the judge's status, and independence-time legislative acts have also been used as models. The intention is to put into motion a nonparty justice system which only proceeds legally. Jaak Kirikal, chairman of the Supreme Court, supported both drafts on the whole. [passage omitted]

Gorbunovs Comments Upon Return From France

LD1905182491 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0500 GMT 19 May 91

[Excerpt] We have already reported that yesterday, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia, and Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans returned from France to Riga. At a press conference at Riga airport, Anatolijs Gorbunovs informed journalists of the results of the visit, and of his meeting with French President Francois Mitterrand. Yesterday we presented for your attention a fragment of the recording of this press conference, but now listen to Anatolijs Gorbunovs' personal impressions of French President Mitterrand, and once again about the results of the visit and Latvia's diplomatic work:

[Begin Gorbunovs recording] President Francois Mitterrand, in (?very) simple language, expressly and indirectly asked to be informed, in more detail and more broadly where possible, about everything connected with the solution of the Baltic question, and about the political-economic processes occurring here in Latvia. His interest in Latvia was (?brand new), and his conclusions and proposals about the Baltic states' recovery of their independence seemed also to us to be very specific. I was again surprised that he, in such a tense situation... [changes thought] when I was there he had to meet three times in (?the first) day with the new—well, he didn't call her prime minister, but first minister, that is, leader of the government. Meeting him in such circumstances—there were plenty of other incidents—but he was able to subtly and precisely talk over all these things with us and draw his conclusions.

Regardless of the perhaps, after all, great (?number) of years, the French president has [word indistinct]. In my view he is a very remarkable politician and a very likeable conversation partner. In addition, he is, one can see, the sort of politician who likes his work. He is willing to hear about problems, willing to (?open them up). He understands a specific problem, puts himself in such a situation, and makes proposals to resolve the problem.

Of course, where possible, we talked about travelling, both in Paris and other areas, how much attention was paid to us during this visit, starting from Denmark, and then in Paris itself, about everything we had done and what he had heard, observed. So, the Baltic question is indeed an international question. But one must not forget that the main work for us, nevertheless, is right here at home, in Latvia. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Receives Advice From Mitterrand

LD1705134491 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0910 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] According to a report from the information service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Latvian Republic, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council, and Janis Jurkans, minister of foreign afairs, met yesterday morning in Paris with Fabius, chairman of the National Assembly of France. The discussion dealt mainly with two themes: the possibility of economic cooperation between Latvia and France, and French economic assistance to the USSR.

Gorbunovs and Jurkans then had a meeting with Francois Mitterrand, president of France. The conversation lasted one hour. Mitterrand noted that France maintains great interest in the processes now taking place in Latvia and the Baltic region, and that France has a traditional feeling of comradery for the Baltic states. Mitterrand expressed the view that the Baltic states will soon restore their independence if they choose the right tactics in relation to the Kremlin—dialogue instead of confrontation.

Commenting on this statement by Mitterrand, Janis Jurkans stressed the importance of the fact that it was made after the visit of the French president to Moscow.

Today Gorbunovs and Jurkans will meet with Scheer, secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Poher, president of the Senate. At 1900 they fly out from Paris to Copenhagen.

Latvian Prime Minister on U.S. Aid to Baltics

OW2005050091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1800 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Latvia's Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis does not think the United States will be in a hurry to deliver economic assistance to the Baltics even if the USSR imposes economic or financial sanctions on the three republics.

He told journalists after his meeting with President Bush that the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian leaders had informed the White House chief of the likeliness of such sanctions, specifically in the form of a switch to hard-currency payments in the Soviet Union's trade with the three Baltic states.

According to the Latvian Premier, the U.S. Administration left the Baltic suggestion on forwarding credits to the Soviet Union by way of funding specific republican projects, unanswered.

Anticrisis Program Said 'Theoretically Correct'

OW2005043791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 18 May 91

[Text] The Latvian Republic's deputy premier Academician Arnis Kalnins who was present May 15 as an observer at the discussion by the leaders of the Union republics of the anticrisis programme by Valentin Pavlov's Cabinet of Ministers said that he considered the programme to be "theoretically correct". To support his view, the Latvian academician says that the Soviet Government's document provides for such measures as price liberalisation, the creation of a new taxation system, the attainment of an internal and external ruble convertibility, privatisation, etc.

However, says the deputy premier, there are two facts placing the efficiency of the programme in doubt: its insistence on centralised economic management and no timetable for the implementation of the planned efforts. Kalnins suggested that no major economic changes can begin until 1992. According to him, the project of the anti crisis programme will be signed in the neareast future by the nine republics that are for the signing of the Union treaty, plus perhaps Armenia and Moldova.

According to the academinician, the interests of the Baltics will be primarily affected by the programme's provision that trade with the republics that refuse to sign the Union treaty will be in a currency the parties agree on, not necessarily in freely convertible currency as the previous projects had claimed.

Lithuanian Supreme Council 16 May Meeting Reported

LD1705075391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 16 May 91

[Excerpts] Today's plenary sitting of the [Lithuanian] Supreme Council started by examining a draft law on education. This discussion was adjourned after the adoption of the eighth article of this law. The deputies then adopted a resolution of the Supreme Council on supplements to the regulations of the Lithuanian citizen's passport. One of the new articles states that, at the request of the passport owner, his nationality can be stated in the passport.

The most stormy debate took place on the draft law on the use of state payments and other special purpose compensations for the construction of cooperative and individual houses and apartments. [passage omitted] This draft law was adopted. [passage omitted]

Before question time, deputy Algirdas Patackas read a statement signed by 35 deputies. This statement condemned an interview by deputy Kazimiera Prunskiene to the Spanish newspaper MUNDO. This interview was recently published by TASS which, quoting Prunskiene, stated that, political censorship is allegedly operating in Lithuania and that Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis is using his authority for personal interests. The chairman of the sitting read a denial by deputy Prunskiene which she recently submitted to the presidium of the Supreme Council.

During question time requests by the deputies were answered by Arturas Paulauskas, the procurator general of the Republic of Lithuania ; Elvyra Kuneviciene, minister of finance; Algirdas Sinevicius, minister of trade.

Landsbergis Says 'Foreign Force' in Lithuania

LD1905021391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 18 May 91

[Excerpts] Days of the greatest trials approach for Lithuania, stated Vytautas Landsbergis, Supreme Council chairman of the Republic of Lithuania, commenting on the unending armed provocations along the Lithuanian border. He observed that one can notice a foreign force at work in Lithuania—one that is indecent and simply insane at times. Therefore, anything can be expected from it. Lithuania is aware, however, that this is an unlawful force and is therefore unavoidably temporary.

The leader of the Lithuanian parliament spoke at the Coordination Council of Lithuanian Political Parties and Movement conference, which he attended immediately upon his return from visits to the United States and Germany. [passage omitted]

According to the opinion of conference participants, there are forces currently becoming more active in Lithuania which, upon encouragement by the Soviet Union, could satisfy themselves with something akin to half-independence. In the statement by the Political Coordination Council, those forces include the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party and other organizations connected with it—the Future Forum, the Agricultural Workers' Union, and the Confederation of Independent Labor Unions.

However, according to a statement made to Vilnius radio by Virgilijus Cepaitis, chairman of the Lithuanian Independence Party, the conference of Lithuania's progressive parties, was not a reply to activity by the Future Forum.

Certain deputies of the Supreme Council of Lithuania representing the parliamentary majority and also certain government ministers participated in the conference as well.

Vagnorius on Lithuania's Market Transition

PM2005090791 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 8 May 91 p 1

[Interview with Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius by Arunas Mankyavichyus; place and date not stated: "A Most Difficult Half Year for Us"]

[Text] Last Thursday at the Lithuanian Supreme Council Session the deputies were acquainted with the government program. Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius commented on this program to ELTA correspondent Arunas Mankyavichyus:

[Vagnorius] The main part of the program presented by the government is an economic reform which, in our opinion, is a fundamental and decisive condition for overcoming the crisis and creating better living conditions. There is no point in counting on any improvement without it. Soon we will transfer to market prices, and we intend to privatize half of all facilities targeted for privatization in the program before the end of the year. We will try to create far more propitious conditions for privatizing apartments, and we will also assist those who are building their own.

As of the second six-month period this year we must begin to live in conditions of a market economy. I stress—begin to live. No doubt it will not yet be a market. However, we hope that by the end of the year, if relations with the Soviet Union do not hinder us, we will manage to stabilize the economy, where negative tendencies are currently under way. While implementing the economic reform at a rapid pace, we continue to maintain the principle that until a new system or new procedure is in place for a particular vital sphere, the old system or procedure cannot be destroyed.

The government's program envisages that the bulk of the work on the economic reform must be completed this year. I must note that the next six months will be the most difficult for the inhabitants and the most unpopular for the government, as in order to radically overhaul an entire life-style it will have to take unpopular decisions. But if we do not do this now it will have to be done later. Then it will be harder still. And nothing but a reorientation of the economy toward a new economic system—the market system—will save us.

The government's program aims to counter the imbalance in the ratio between wages and increased prices. Along with the price hikes we will raise first and foremost the wages of workers in centrally funded organizations, especially the health service, education, science, and culture workers.

Along with this the government is undertaking urgent measures to mitigate the negative processes. For example, a resolution has been adopted which obliges enterprises to supply the domestic market with goods according to the established plans. Then if one or other enterprise ceases production, this will not affect the local market, although fewer goods will be exported from the republic. If the situation does not improve in the very near future we plan to transfer to a more general goods rationing. By this logic, the inhabitants of Lithuania will at least be able to acquire the most essential manufactured goods.

[Mankyavichyus] So, unpopular but unavoidable decisions.... Perhaps measures to curtail their affect on the inhabitants of Lithuania are also envisaged?

[Vagnorius] Unpopular though it may be, state-regulated prices will continue to be brought more in line with market prices. At the same time we will try to increase wages by an appropriate percentage and apply indexation in other spheres. However, clearly in this case, too, even with an increase in wages, inhabitants may look upon the government measures with mistrust. On the other hand, until we balance commodity-money relationships we will not be rid of shortages or the distribution system.

[Mankyavichyus] You said that the resolutions oblige enterprises to supply the domestic market with goods according to established plans. Does this not contradict the principle of the market economy?

[Vagnorius] There must be commitments during the transition period when the market mechanism is not yet operating. If we do not think about this today, then Lithuania's market may be left without goods. When we draw closer to market prices and wage rates we will no doubt be able to satisfy the demand for goods more readily, and no targets or administrative orders will be required. The market will do this.

[Mankyavicius] What are the basic aspects of the program's foreign policy?

[Vagnorius] Foreign policy's main aim is to restore an independent state. How soon we manage to achieve this aim depends on the talks with the Soviet Union and on the West's policy in relation to the USSR and Lithuania. We are in between the East and West and must remain a neutral state. We also stress this in our program. Also, we will apply to join the Council of Europe with observer's rights and participate actively in the work of the Nordic Council.

Lithuanian Statement Cites Soviet Troops' Attack

LD1805222191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 18 May 91

[Text] A statement released by the press bureau of the government of the Republic of Lithuania says: The attacks on the Lithuanian Republic's customs and border control posts, perpetrated by the Soviet Union's Armed Forces and the Soviet Union Internal Affairs Ministry's special purpose militia detachments, are continuing.

On 16 May at 1500, armed individuals who arrived in Soviet Army vehicles fired shots at the Varena customs post in Druskininkai. The chief of the customs crew was injured during the attack. A bus station adjacent to the customs post was burned.

On 18th May at 1500, about 30 armed Soviet soldiers robbed and burned the Kalvarija border control post. During the attack, the post staff members were taunted and two duty officers sustained injuries.

By these and [word indistinct] acts of terror, perpetrated by the Soviet Armed Forces and the Soviet Union Ministry's of Internal Affairs special purpose militia detachments, attempts are made to frighten the people, augment tension, and provoke armed confrontation.

There is some information available that indicates that the Soviet Union's Armed Forces are preparing new provocations which may be carried out next week. The Soviet Army soldiers are preparing suspicious maneuvers in certain areas of the Lithuanian Republic. They are searching for spots to accomodate new military detachments.

Threats are flowing in abundance from various Soviet Union departments. An increased activation of political forces opposed to Lithuania is also becoming evident. Various actions planned in Lithuania and in other Baltic States for 21-29 May are also causing special concern, which may become a pretext for a repetition of the January event.

Therefore, we must be vigilant in order to avoid possible provocations. We have no right to fall prey to deceptions.

The government of the Republic of Lithuania, without urging counterresistance by the people, strives to block the way to attempts at destabilization of the situation in the republic.

Lithuanian Official on Rights Conference

LD1805145891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 18 May 91

[Interview with Egidijus Bickauskas, Lithuanian permanent government representative in Moscow, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Bickauskas] The conference was the result of several individuals having assembled several years ago, having in mind the regulation on all possible levels of human rights' questions. Moreover, these individuals are rather influential both in the West and within the Soviet Union.

[Correspondent] Yet, prior to the close of the conference, you had mentioned in one interview that this constituted the first time Lithuanian affairs were raised on such an international level. Well, now that it has ended, what conclusions can be made?

[Bickauskas] I will assess this conference as positive in every respect. I truly cannot recall our ever having a conference on this level—on an international level, even though this was stressed several times at the conference itself—that this was not a governmental, not a formal conference, but in spite of that, the representation was nevertheless very wide-ranging. [word indistinct] A Soviet delegation was there, and those of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, the Netherlands, America, and Great Britain, and the total view was significant [words indistinct]. I think it proved beneficial to all the participants at the conference and it helped them to comprehend better each other's interests—that is to understand both the interests of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and also those of the Soviet Union and those of the West. [passage indistinct] And also it notes the unreasonableness of employing force—both military and economic force, in enforcing [passage indistinct]. A committee has been formed—a special committee to regulate these questions and to attempt to search for a way out, and a consultative committee, comprised of the Baltic states [words indistinct]. Meetings are planned in the near future, in the Baltic state capitals and also in [word indistinct] Moscow.

Lithuanian Commissar on Draft Issues

LD1905090191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2140 GMT 18 May 91

[Video report from Vilnius by Reporter S. Gelbakh—from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Gelbakh] In the complicated life of Lithuania today, one of the most painful points on which there is no lessening of tension is the draft. How much fear there is about this in both speeches at rallies and in declarations by officials of Lithuania! They demand that young people of Lithuania should not go to serve in the Soviet Army. [video shows street scenes, featuring young people]

In order to find out how the draft is going, we went to the assembly point of the republican military enlistment office.

[A. Vysotskos, Military Commisar of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic identified from caption] The government of the republic, and the department for the defense of the country, are continuing to use all methods to prevent young men from the republic from going to serve in our Soviet Army.

But another trend can be seen. Young men from the republic have gone to join the Soviet Army. Fifty-one percent of those drafted are Lithuanians. To our surprise even, young men have started to come to us who have served a month or two in the ranks of the department for the defense of the country, which also has a draft in parallel with ours. From their tales and statements it is evident that they do not agree with the methods, the demands, and the policies carried out by the department at present. These young men we send along with all the others to do their service; mainly this is in the Baltic Military District. [video shows Vysotskos in office, shots of physical examinations]

Lithuanian Party Opposes Parliament Majorty

OW2005045991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Mr Algirdas Brazauskas, the leader of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor party for the first time openly declared the party's opposition to the policy pursued by the parliament's majority. The announcement came late on Thursday.

According to Brazauskas, to bring life in independent Lithuania back to normal what is needed is "democracy that we talk so much about but are doing so little to achieve, as well as normal functioning of the economy, which we should not forget when we talk about politics".

Together with Khrizostom, the Archbishop of the Russian Orthodox Church in Lithuania Algirdas Brazauskas attended a public meeting of the predominantly Russian speaking population of Vilnius, organised by the Russian Cultural Center.

Speaking at the meeting Khrizostom emphasised that Lithuania's independence is not an aim in itself, but a prerequisite for an all-around development of one's personality. "A democratically-elected parliament is a mouthpiece of the people, yet its members cannot build a democratic state dissociating themselves from the people and ignoring the opinion of the minority" he said. The Archbishop called on all national minorities of Lithuania to take an active part in the republic's political life.

Lithuanian Parliament Spokesman Briefs Press

LD1705132591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] The press representative of the parliament, Audrius Azubalis, started his morning briefing by, so to speak, throwing a stone into the garden of the newspaper RESPUBLIKA. This newspaper reported today that yesterday OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] men, allegedly, forced their way into the premises of the Lithuanian Bank in downtown Trakai which is currently undergoing repairs and chased away the workmen.

Mr. Azubalis stated that there is no bank branch in that house. The premises houses the branches of [word indistinct] the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party. It is true, the OMON men were there yesterday accompanied by Communist Party representatives, but there were no incidents. There was only talk about the further use of these premises. This talk was held in a rather correct and cultured manner. Thus the newspaper RESPUBLIKA overreacted this time by supplying incorrect information which could give rise to unnecessary passions.

Azubalis also reported that an investigation of the incident at the Druskininkai border checkpoint was taking place. A small horn [ragelis] of an AKM automatic weapon with plastic bullets has been found. Live rounds were not found, but it was established that there was danger to human life from the rocket shots.

It was reported yesterday that the military started controlling main roads in Lithuania. However, today Audrius Azubalis stated that there were no known cases of the military stopping vehicles on these roads.

Speaking of the visit by the officials of the U.S. State Department, Azubalis quoted Bronius Kuzmickas. Mr. Kuzmickas stressed that this was the first such visit to Lithuania on the instructions of Baker himself. Its aim was to clarify the situation in the Baltic states. The officials of the U.S. State Department said during their visit that America did not intend to mediate in negotiations between the Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union, but was very interested in these negotiations. It did not see any other way of solving relations between the Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union.

Audrius announced during the briefing that it was expected that Vytautas Landsbergis would return to Lithuania next Sunday.

Lithuania's Prunskiene on Current Government

LD1805124491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Meanwhile, the former prime minister of Lithuania, Kazimiera Prunskiene, stated that during her recent travels abroad she noted that the world has become almost accustomed to the unresolved and seemingly unmoving problem of Lithuanian independence.

According to her, she on several occasions encountered the ideas: Did Lithuania hurry too much? Should she not have gone the Latvian and Estonian route?

Kazimiera Prunskiene discussed her impressions from Germany, Switzerland and Spain at a meeting sponsored by the journalists' union.

The newspaper TIESA has published the most thorough report of the meeting. Among other things, it quotes Kazimiera Prunskiene stating: The Government of Lithuania is not working to diminish the enmity with the Soviet Union.

Kazimiera Prunskiens stated: to expect assistance solely from the West is not practical and even if some state should recognize Lithuania's independence now nothing would be changed.

According to Kazimiera Prunskiene, there are some opinions that a new East Prussian-Kaliningrad region problem is developing which will become obvious in about six months. Certain German political experts are beginning to mention it although the official state representatives do not talk about it yet.

According to the former prime minister, World War II may not end after all with the restoration of the three Baltic states and apparently the principal question of who East Prussia belongs to will have to be answered.

Meanwhile, parliamenty Deputy Leonas Mincius, who recently visited Germany on business, recounted in the newspaper LIETUVOS AIDAS the lecture by Kazimiera Prunskiene at the Grumstadt Palace of Industry and Trade. According to Deputy Leonas Mincius, the former prime minister explained to the auditorium that the current government is composed of national patriots who have no qualification. The people's needs are ignored and that is why the Future Forum has been established which is composed of progressive, political activists.

2d Meeting Between Soviets, Lithuanians Doubtful

OW2005045191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 18 May 91

[Text] A second full-scale meeting for consultations is planned for May 23, to be held at what was in pre-WWII times a villa of the newspaper magnate Benyamins in Yurmala However, the Soviet Union has not yet confirmed its intention to come to Yurmala to Lithuanian deputy premier Professor Ilmars Bisers. [sentence as received]

"If the USSR ignores the talks that have been started and fails to send its delegation, it will have to assume all responsibility for further developments," said Janis Dinevics, a leader of the republican parliamentary majority fraction.

RSFSR

Yeltsin Addresses RSFSR Supreme Soviet 16 May

LD1705112191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2020 GMT 16 May 91

[Speech by Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, from the "RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session" program at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 16 May—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies, before the start of the session, I consider it necessary to inform you of measures and decisions that have occurred during the past week.

On 13-14 May, there was an official visit to Czechoslovakia. This was the first foreign visit by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. Talks were held with President Havel of Czechoslovakia, with Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly, and with leaders of the Czech and Slovak republics in Prague and Bratislava. During the visit, a declaration was signed on the principles of mutual relations and cooperation between the Russian Federation and Czechoslovakia, as well as a protocol on cooperation between our states' foreign ministries.

Our position on the development of bilateral cooperation and on the prospects for international relations and the role in them of the Russian Federation was set out by me in a speech at a sitting of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly. In these matters, we take as our starting-point Russia's right to independently establish international ties, as enshrined now by the current Constitutions of the Union and of Russia. Of particular importance is the fact that, in a renewed union, the republics will handle the bulk of their external ties independently, while the foreign policy matters that will remain within the jurisdiction of the Union will be handled jointly with the republics. We have oriented our partners toward a simultaneous dialogue both with the central leadership of the Union and with the republics. Moreover, it was stressed that this was a matter not of some kind of competition, but of the enrichment of relations and the deepening of contacts. This approach found understanding and evoked interest on the Czechoslovak side, bearing in mind the fact that there is a great deal of similarity in the features of our states—for example, in federative states, the republics seek to enhance their own status.

Despite differences in the internal situation, we are tackling largely similar tasks involved in painfully and dramatically overcoming the totalitarian legacy and returning to Europe and the civilized world. During the period, it is particularly important to find the most effective forms of Czechoslovak-Russian relations. We set out our understanding of the principles on which we could base ourselves. First and foremost, our relations must not be subordinated to any kind of ideological diktat or to violence against the interests either of citizens or of peoples. The conviction was expressed that the time is not far off when the communication of our citizens with people living in other countries will become their private business, while the state will be the defender of their rights and interests. Moreover, this will promote the expansion of the international contacts of our citizens and peoples.

Furthermore, with regard to other states, we also proceed from the principles of positive intentions, rejecting from the outset the framing of objectives that cause deliberate harm to our partners. It is our firm position not to interfere in the internal affairs of other states or to impose our point of view or assessment. But we shall give serious attention to studying the experience of different peoples. It was clearly stated that we categorically reject the use-of-force approach in international relations, the pursuit of the status of a military superpower, the desire for political domination, and imperial behavior—Russia leaves all that in the past.

Irrespective of whether legal documents recognized by the world community as the norm have been ratified by Russia or not, in practice we are striving to follow them. To talk as a whole about the first visit by a Soviet leader to Czechoslovakia since the velvet revolution, it was intended to help solve problems that have accumulated as a legacy of totalitarianism. An important part of the conversations and talks was devoted to problems of cooperation between Russia and Czechoslovakia in the economic sphere. Both sides displayed a readiness to take concrete steps to expand trade turnover and to find mutually beneficial and acceptable forms of payment. There is an undertanding that direct ties between enterprises, organizations, and individual regions should make up the basis of our economic cooperation. We agreed that the destruction of these ties, maintained over many years, should in no way be permitted to take place, but on the contrary it is necessary to encourage and expand them in every way with application to the new conditions.

Literally in a few days time, a Russian working group will be setting off for Czechoslovakia; on the basis of attained accords, it will discuss, and specifically sign accords concerning large deliveries of foodstuffs to Russia. Czechoslovakia has expressed a readiness to deliver grain, meat, and butter to Russia, and moreover, in urgent fashion, both from the Czech lands and Slovakia. Taking into consideration the difficult food situation in our republic, this is of course very important. In this way, Russians will be able to experience the practical results of external ties in the near future. This once again underscores the fact that Russian sovereignty in external ties is not an aim in itself but a vital requirement. It is intended to facilitate the provision of an adequate standard of living for the Russian people and our entry into the system of the world economy.

We attribute special significance to our ties with Czechoslovakia. It is in the heart of Europe and plays a very important and active role in the CSCE and in new super-regional European organizations. It is striving to become a kind of bridge between East and West. The country's leaders—President Havel, Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly, and others—enjoy great and deserved respect in Europe and in the world. We hope that the development of our ties with Czechoslovakia will promote Russia's entry into the all-European process.

The declaration signed envisages cooperation between Russia and Czechoslovakia in Europe and on in the world within the framework of international organizations. The visit once again confirmed that Europe cannot exist without Russia, just as Russia cannot exist without Europe. In developing relations with Czechoslovakia, we are also working from a model of our relations with other European countries. Some of them are already turning to us with proposals on establishing similar direct ties of an inter-state nature with Russia. We have attained accords with both the leadership of the Czech lands and the leadership of Slovakia. This makes it possible to go over to the practical implementation of the concept of two-tier ties, both with the federation as a whole and its subjects. The visit showed not only the importance of personal contacts between leaders of states for the development of mutual relations, but also the need to carefully work through all questions by holding such visits in the future. It is essential to master the difficult art of international diplomacy and to learn how to clearly define our tasks and priorities in bilateral relations and in the international scene, and taking this into account, to build our foeign policy line. It is necessary to exclude situations where lack of clarity arises in the world with regard to Russian foreign policy positions on important questions.

On the whole I believe this visit to have been a successful one, both from the point of view of the accords which were reached and from the point of view of the experience gained.

The next question: On the Easter days for intensive consultations with the republics of Russia on questions of preparing for the signing of a future Union treaty. On 7 May a meeting took place here in the House of the

Soviets, and on 12 May a meeting with the president of the Union, the chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet and the chairmen of the supreme soviets of the republics which are part of the Russian Federation. Lukyanov, Khasbulatov, Abdulatipov, and Oleynik also took part in it. They agreed that work on the Union treaty should be completed in the very near future, and on preparatory work in accordance with the procedure which was agreed at the meeting between the president and the heads of nine republics, in other words on the "from the bottom upward" principle; they agreed that, together with the Union republics and Russia, the Russian republics, with their authorized delegations as entities of the Union and entities of the Russian Federation, should take part in the signing of the treaty.

A special position has been adopted by Tatarstan, which intends to sign a treaty only as an entity of the Union, and then to conclude a separate treaty with the RSFSR. All republics, apart from Tatarstan, have firmly stated that they remain on the side of Russia.

A session of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet has been held, which examined the program of the Russian Government for the stabilization of the economy and the transition to market relations. This program has been, in the main, approved at this session, in accordance with the instructions of the Congress of People's Deputies. An exacting and principled discussion took place, comments were made and a week was scheduled for corrections to be tabled to the program and its publication in the press. An instruction was also signed on measures to boost entrepreneurial activities in the Russian Federation, and in accordance with this, capital construction projects on the republic's territory, which have been temporarily closed or commissioned but not used, are subject to inclusion in commercial development. They will be put up for leasehold or handed over on a competitive basis, and so on, in accordance with the RSFSR law on ownership.

The Council of Ministers is instructed to suspend, within a period of two weeks, the validity of enforceable enactments of the Union Government that are obstructing the implementation of the law on the enterprise and entrepreneurial activity in the RSFSR, or are making its operations difficult. The instruction also includes an order to confirm the time situation regarding the circulation of securities and commodity exchanges in the RSFSR.

And finally the last piece of news. I think it is important not only for the deputies, but for all the citizens of Russia. Yesterday Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, signed an instruction on abolishing the sales tax on almost all foodstuffs. In view of its importance, I shall read it. It is short: To abolish purchase tax on all foodstuffs with the exception of alcoholic drinks, tobacco items, coffee, cakes, chocolate candies and boxes of chocolates, chocolate-coated sweets, and chocolate, fruits, berries, candied fruits, and other chocolate products. Period.

A decision has also been signed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers on additional measures for the social protection of children and concern for all young people. In keeping with this, compensation is being introduced for students and pupils who eat in canteens at higher, special, vocational and general educational institutions, at a rate of: 41 kopecks per person for those studying in general educational establishments; and in secondary special educational institutions, from 1 September this year, one ruble per day. This decision envisages compensation from 1 July this year to milk kitchens of the RSFSR Ministry of Health, for additional expenditure in connection with the change in the retail prices of milk powder mixes and baby foods for one and two year old children of families where the average joint income per family member does not exceed 135 rubles per month, excluding the compensation payments on the benefits received for children.

These decisions have been adopted in keeping with the accord and in keeping with the statement signed on 23 April. Work is continuing on seeking out possibilities for additional ways of providing social protection for the population of the Russian Federation due to the rise in prices, including taking into account the decision of the Third Congress of People's Deputies on the redistribution of powers between the supreme state bodies of the republic.

Thank you for your attention.

Chairs Constitutional Commission

LD1805134891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 18 May 91

[Text] Under Boris Yeltsin's chairmanship, the latest meeting of the constitutional commission of the republican parliament has taken place in Moscow.

It has been decided to approve the amendments and addenda to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Constitution connected with introducing the post of the president of Russia and reorganizing the system of local self-government and recommending them to the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies, which is about to open.

Supreme Soviet Adopts State of Emergency Law

LD1805125291 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT 18 May 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Yuriy Kozmin and Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—The Russian parliament adopted the state of emergency law after the second reading on Friday. The bill is among the most important documents examined by parliament in the recent past.

The law describes the state of emergency as a special legal regime for the operation of authorities, "permitting the restriction of the rights of citizens and legal entities, established by law".

Such a regime may be declared as a result of attempts to change a constitutional system by force, mass rioting, ethnic conflicts, natural calamities or industrial disasters.

The state of emergency is imposed by the decree of the Russian president or the Presidium of the Russian parliament. To impose the state of emergency in a republic, a member of the Russian Federation, it is necessary to obtain agreement of the Presidium of that republic's parliament.

Later on Friday, deputies heard proposals by President of the Russian parliament Boris Yeltsin on the composition of a Russian constitutional court. A court will be elected by the Congress of People's Deputies, which will convene in Moscow on Tuesday.

The list suggested by Yeltsin includes prominent lawyers representing mostly major universities. Judging by the first response to the information by the Russian leader, this fact will cause the greatest dispute at the congress: Even now some deputies from various republics of the Russian Federation noted that their representatives were undeservingly ignored.

Another attempt by Russian lawmakers to complete a law on the privatisation of state and municipal enterprises failed on Friday.

This time differences between the government and parliament on methods of privatisation were the reason why it was again relegated to committees for improvement.

Yeltsin Views RSFSR Congress Session

LD1805202491 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 1545 GMT 18 May 91

[Interview with B.N. Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet chairman, by unidentified reporter, from Yeltsin's office in Moscow; date not given; from the "Russian Parliamentary Herald" program—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] The latest session of the Russian Supreme Soviet has finished its work. Russian deputies have a small breathing space before the forthcoming congress. But here, in this office of the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, there are of course no respites. This is both the location of the direct implementation of our decisions, well, and perhaps also the place for analyzing what has already been done. Boris Nikolayevich, speaking about the past session, what is the main result you have singled out for yourself?

[Yeltsin] Well, this stage, the session after the Third Congress of People's Deputies, strictly speaking, and in the main, fulfilled the decisions of the third extraordinary congress. This was its main task, although at the same time a series of laws was adopted which were not envisaged by the decisions of the third congress. I would like to remind you that at the third congress a governmental program on the stabilization of the economy and the transition to market relations was considered, and a very fundamental decision on the redistribution of powers between the higher state bodies of Russia was also adopted. This was done in order to strengthen the Russian Supreme Soviet, to strengthen the government, and accordingly to give more powers to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

One looks back on this period, even with some surprise, that it differs from all the previous ones; it has turned out to be more successful. During a fairly short period the session adopted masses of laws and decisions which are very fundamental and very necessary today for the development of reforms in our country, on issues of the social protection of the population, on our program, and so on. I consider that we do not usually give appraisals, but I think that during this period it could in general be said that the session did not work badly.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet thoroughly considered the program for the stabilization of the economy. Moreover, there was an informal report by Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and members of the Presidium participated very actively in its discussion. After this it was once more submitted to the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, and it was decided that this very program, during the near future—at last, after the program at which we stumbled, Shatalin and Yavlinskiy's 500 days—the program will now be published in the mass media and people will know what we want to do within two years in order to stop the slide into the abyss, toward which we are now moving, and somehow to improve the calamitous situation facing the people, particularly in connection with the increased prices.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium also adopted a number of most important decisions concerning measures to prepare the process of privatization of state and municipal property on the territory of Russia, and also concerning the procedure for applying the law on liability for speculation on the territory of Russia. A ruling was signed making use of the powers arising from the new law, as it were, concerning measures to stimulate enterprise in the republic. It concerns bringing all unfinished building sites and all the facilities—which, although they have been built are not producing output—into economic circulation. They are being brought back into play, are being privatized. Television viewers are aware of this from the last time I spoke on the issue of land reform. Of course, quite a lot appears to have been done. Last time the figure I mentioned was 17,000, but today, already 22,200 individual farms are working. Nonetheless and nevertheless, sabotage continues to be perpetrated here and there, in the localities, and in connection with this I signed a ruling concerning the enhancement of control over, and the provision of practical assistance to the process of implementation of the land reform.

[Reporter] It is said that a land code was adopted at the session.

[Yeltsin] Yes, that is perfectly true. Measures have been defined to enhance responsibility for the implementation of land reform and for the provision of practical assistance, and this involves people's deputies being sent to places so that they maintain some sort of connection—I mean also with the Supreme Soviet, so that any sort of issues that arise can be promptly resolved. This is, of course, of great importance to us, because experience garnered so far shows that individual farms almost immediately yield double the amount of output of conventional farms. What must be singled out is that potatoes, potato plantations, are now in vogue: 200, 300, 400 hectares. And this is something that is surprising: potatoes have been here for some time; their storage was nothing to write home about, but now they are treasured. Everyone will clean them, they will, I mean, prepare them, they will put them somewhere warm so that they grow, so that they can be prepared for planting.

[Reporter] Because they belong to one?

[Yeltsin] They belong to one. This is precisely the feeling which we have, of course, lost over more than 70 years—a feeling, I mean, of being personally interested: It is mine; what I get depends on how I work; my earnings depend on it.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Council of Ministers also adopted a decision on enhancing the responsibility of enterprises and associations for shortfalls in deliveries of material and technical resources to the countryside. It is also very important, because any interruptions here can, of course, subsequently adversely affect the results in the autumn of this year. You have already said that the session adopted a law—the Land Code. It is very important. I have just been to Czechoslovakia, where many processes are outstripping ours. Incidentally, all these documents—the Land Code, land reform, peasant or individual farms—such laws have not yet been passed, and it is this that is holding back the implementation of land reform in their country. After the third congress measures were also adopted concerning further social protection for citizens, connected in particular with price increases. People in our country have found and are finding this price hike hard. The compensation that was promised and given failed to cover even half the additional expenditure that has appeared—that is to say, this is yet another lie our people were given, and it is our task, the task of the Russian leadership, the Supreme Soviet and the government, to nevertheless try in some way to alleviate this hardship, especially for low-income families. We adopted a law on enhancing social guarantees for the working people. It is, moreover, a rather interesting one. Well, to take an example: The minimum wage from 1 October is set at R180. This is together with the compensation of R60. Further: From 1 January 1992 it will be R195 a month, instead of the previous 70, plus, let us say 60, so you get R130, and this means that the difference is fairly great. Further: From 1 January 1992 the duration of the working week is to be cut by one day—I beg your pardon, one hour. And what is of great importance from many categories—maybe for half the population of the Russian Federation, the working population—is the fact that a minimum leave of 24 working days is to be introduced for everyone.

[Reporter] Boris Nikolayevich, it is a fact that our Commission on Social Policy worked very intensively, and the fact that we have in our commission—the Supreme Soviet's Social Policy Commission—nine worker deputies, and these people are close to these problems like no one else, is surely also something that is good. I would like to ask you about this: Indeed, you have enumerated some results of the session—far from all results—but they are very significant, that is to say, they make it possible to say that deputies are being constructive. You are the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and from your chairman's seat at the session, how do you see things, for it is clearer to you: Why is it that the work of the Supreme Soviet has begun to be more constructive and begun to yield more results?

[Yeltsin] I, too, thought about it and, generally speaking, analyzed the reason why there has been a change in the Supreme Soviet's temperature, as it were. There is none of that ferment, as it were, which frustrated things, reducing them to what at times were simply purely political debates, which distracted one from the real work and which led to nothing. Well, the first thing I think is that, all the same, it is the voters' influence on deputies, whom they elected, are working. And if they see that they are all the time at the microphone, and talking for the sake of talking, or always engaging in slanging matches merely in order to have their say, to show off, or else to show their erudition. Well, they have now begun to appraise it. After all, thousands upon thousands of signatures have already been collected as far as a number of deputies is concerned in order to have them recalled, and this is a warning. Incidentally, the Law on the Recall of a People's Deputy has just been adopted. Now, in accordance with this law, the voters have a right to have a people's deputy recalled if, generally speaking, he or she is not working—and not just not working, but also hampering others. So, this is what I mean. In the second place it does, all the same, seem to me that the third congress has had some influence here.

You know, before the third congress, when they thought it up—especially the Communists of Russia—to overthrow the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, the Government of the Russian Federation, they had this expectation that we would then settle accounts. And when this did not work out, and when, instead of that, additional powers were granted, naturally there took place, generally speaking, a certain retreat on their part.

As for the presidential elections which, if we are on this subject, will take place on 12 June—you must surely have a question like this—well, this process is now under way. There are already candidates who carry considerable weight, and among them, of course, are people who are well known in the country, major politicians who have proven themselves. Well, some people regard one person as candidate number one. Others regard someone else as candidate number one. Well, this is already a matter for voters and sociologists. I think that the election campaign will be interesting, intense, and the only thing that I would wish, and count on, is that there will be an honest competition, without dirt, which I myself experienced during the previous elections. I did see what was happening. I count on an honest competition in the struggle for the post of president. Well, everyone who is worth it, as it were, and who is elected by the voters, I mean, I think that this will be the main factor. [sentence as heard]

[Reporter] Boris Nikolayevich, I would like to take this opportunity of asking you whether you can give the surname of the candidate for the post of vice president?

[Yeltsin] If you had asked me this two hours ago, I would have refused. Now, however, taking account of the fact that I signed all the documents for the registration an hour ago and that I sent them to the Central Electoral Commission, Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy, people's deputy of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, chairman of our committee, is named among them.

Polozkov Discusses Congress of People's Deputies

LD1805142591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0830 GMT 18 May 91

[Interview with Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov, Russian Communist Party first secretary, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—live or recorded; from the "Video Channel Plus Eleven" program]

[Text] [Correspondent] As usual the nature of the discussions at the congress will be determined by the position of the Russian Communists. Is it possible that there will be dialogue and cooperation such as has been spoken about since the well-known speech by Ivan Polozkov at the previous Third Extraordinary Congress of Peoples Deputies of Russia?

[Polozkov] The party bodies and, in particular, the plenum of the party Central Committee in general does not interfere in the activity of the legislative group of Communists of Russia and does not consider it necessary to regulate its actions. The group is made up of sufficiently experienced Communists. In general they have already gained some, though perhaps little, experience. And so, the question of regulating them was not raised at the plenum. The question was raised about the way in which the party organizations of Russia will participate in the election campaign as a whole.

Yeltsin Chooses Running Mate for Election

LD1805130191 Moscow TASS in English 1245 GMT 18 May 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—President of the Russian parliament Boris Yeltsin picked up his running mate for the presidency of the Russian Federation. TASS learnt from a trustworthy source that he is Colonel of the Air Force Aleksandr Rutskoy, member of the Russian parliament.

Rutskoy is also member of the Russian parliament Presidium, hero of the Soviet Union and veteran of the Afghan War.

Today is the last day for filing applications by potential candidates for the post of Russian president. Yeltsin has not yet filed any documents and signatures of voters, necessary for the registration by the Central Election Commission.

The official registration of candidates will be held at a meeting of the Election Commission on May 20.

Until now, only one person was registered for the elections—leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of the Soviet Union Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

Ryzhkov Statement on Candidacy, Running Mate

LD1805232391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 May 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] About 500 labor or servicemen's collectives of electors have nominated Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov as their candidate for the office of the President of the Russian Federation. Over 1 million signatures have been collected in support of his candidacy. Today he held a news conference.

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] I want to announce to you that yesterday I wrote my official statement on my consent to run for the office of president of Russia. The documents have been sent to the Central Electoral Commission. Along with me, Colonel General Boris Vsevolodovich Gromov, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, has agreed to run as a candidate for the office of vice president. Boris Vsevolodovich is one of the most popular generals in our army. But this is not a matter of the army, not a matter of our wishing to institute a firm order. Gen. Gromov is a genuine citizen of his fatherland, a true patriot, a man of courage and honesty. His firm position as a citizen is well known to all. I believe that the office of vice president should today be occupied by a mature political figure known for his lofty moral sense, his industry, and his well-organized and well-ordered way of working. Gen. Gromov's experience could be a source of envy for any politician. I am grateful to Boris Vsevolodovich for giving his consent to run with me, and I am convinced that in the event of victory at the elections we will be able to serve our great homeland in a worthy manner at this difficult time. [end recording]

Replying to journalists' questions, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov specified his positions on a number of fundamental issues. Among other things, he said that Russia should be pulled out of the crisis using measures which will not lead to a sharp lowering of living standards for the population.

Further Reportage on Democratic Russia Explosion

'Strong' Blast Described

LD1705120491 Moscow TASS in English 1135 GMT 17 May 91

[Following is a fuller version of an item published in the 17 May Soviet DAILY REPORT, page 44, headlined "Explosion at Democratic Russian Headquarters]

[Text] Moscow MAY 17 TASS—A strong explosion occurred at the headquarters of the Democratic Russia Movement, one of the country's major political movements, in the centre of the Soviet capital late on Thursday night.

A room where the explosion occurred housed paper sheets with citizens' signatures in support of electing Boris Yeltsin to the presidency of the Russian Federation, in support of electing incumbent chairman of the Moscow City Council Gavriil Popov as the mayor of Moscow and in favour of nationalising the property of the Soviet Communist Party, Yevgeniy Proshechkin, member of the movement's Coordinating Council, told TASS over the telephone today.

The explosion which occurred at about 2300 local time was so strong that it shattered part of the facade, the movement's spokesman said. The blast broke a huge hole in the ceiling and smashed window-panes in nearby houses.

Ten minutes later militia and firefighers arrived at the scene. Proshechkin said. He pointed out that only by a lucky coincidence no one had been hurt.

Usually the movement's council meetings are held in the building at that time. But on Thursday the last person left the room shortly before the blast.

According to the spokesman the bulk of signature sheets in support of electing Yeltsin to Russia's presidency was saved. They were removed to another building several hours before the explosion.

Law enforcement agencies are conducting an investigation in connection with the explosion.

The Coordinating Council of the Democratic Russia Movement scheduled a news conference in the Moscow Ctiy Council building for today.

Official Details Explosion

OW2005092891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0930 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Mikhail Schneider, one of the leaders of the movement Democratic russia, talked with IF [INTERFAX] about the particulars of the explosion at the movement's headquarters at 36 Staromonetny Pereulok at aroudn 10:20 p.m. on May 16.

According to the fire-fighters who, Schneider says, came to the scene very fast, the burst was caused by an explosive device, but they were not certain which kind of a device. "It must have been toluene," said Schneider.

KGB staffers headed by the KGB chief for Moscow and Moscow region came to the scene for the explosion.

The burst destroyed nearly the whole regional files of the Democratic Russia and ruined ⅔ of the premises in the one-storey headquarters, says Schneider.

At about midnight the Baltic News Service [BNS] office received a telephone call from a person who said he was Georgi Leskis, press-secretary of the so-called "Soviet Liberatian Party" [title of party as received].

He said that his party claimed responsibility for the burst in the Democratic Russia's headquarters since, according to him, "the party's presidential candidate Roman Kalinin was roughed up by Yeltsin's supporters and is now in hospital".

According to Leskis, his party believes Kalinin could offer a serious challenge to Yeltsin.

Leskis had telephoned the BNS office on a couple of occasions and he also gave calls to other agencies in connection with Roman Kalinin's presidential campaign.

Party Leaders Denounce Blast

OW2005103891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] An explosion which shook on Thursday the headquarters of "Democratic Russia" in Moscow was described as "the biggest act of political terrorism in decades" by Vladimir Boxer, a member of the Coordinating Council of the movement, speaking at a press conference in Moscow City council on May 17.

According to Mr Boxer, the blast destroyed lists with approximately 150 thousand signatures of those who campaign for Boris Yeltsin's nomination as candidate in the upcoming presidential elections in Russia, 50 thousand signatures of Gavriil Popov's supporters in his bid for the post of Moscow's mayor and files of members of the "Democratic Russia" movement.

Mr Boxer said, however, the fact that those lists were destroyed would not preclude Boris Yeltsin standing for election for he had already raised a sufficient number of signatures in his support which were filed in the Central election commission.

Reverend Gleb Yakunin, a co-chairman of the Coordinating Council, said at the press conference: "This explosion is a very dangerous development. Public opinion grew accustomed to a series of blasts in the Baltics. We are afraid a series of blasts might occur in Moscow". Mr Yakunin believes these acts aim at holding up a democratic process in Russia and inimidating participants of a Democratic Russia-sponsored rally scheduled to take place on Monday in Manezhnaya square of Moscow.

Answering the question of possible organizers of the explosion, Mr Boxer said: "This is some extremist or fascist like group. We do not know whether it forms part of some legalized structure. He also dismissed the possibility of the sexual minorities association being involved in this terrorist act. [quotation marks as received]

Moscow Procurator To Investigate Explosion

OW2005093991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] As IF [INTERFAX] was told by the KGB, the Moscow procurator will be in charge of investigations into the explosion at the headquarters of Democratic Russia which took place late on May 16.

However an official spokesman for the KGB did not exclude the possibility that members of his organisations could be involved in the investigations "should the procurator express such a desire".

Yeltsin Signatures Survive Explosion

OW2005085391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] A member of the coordinating council of the Democratic Russia movement, Mr Leonid Bogdanov, described the explosion on Thursday in the movement's building on Staromonetny Street in Moscow as "the first terrorist act in Moscow in recent times."

Mr Bogdanov said that signatures gathered in support of Mr Boris Yeltsin's candidature for the presidency of Russia which were kept in the building had been removed directly before the explosion and had thus been saved. According to the militia, the explosion was caused by a home-made device placed in one of the rooms of the building.

Earlier a member of the Democratic Russia leadership, Mr Mikhail Shneider, told IF [INTERFAX] that as a result of the explosion almost the hold [as received] regional card index had been lost and two thirds of the one storey headquarters building had been destroyed.

Libertarian Party Claims 'Responsibility'

LD1905083891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 May 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A number of details about the explosion at the headquarters of the Democratic Russia Movement in Moscow have become known to us. The USSR Libertarian Party [as heard] is claiming responsibility for the explosion. The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper, quoting a statement by the party's press secretary has reported that this occurred because Kalinin, the candidate for the Russian presidency from this party, was allegedly beaten up by supporters of Yeltsin and is now in the hospital.

Libertarians Deny Responsibility

LD1905085391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 18 May 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] We have received additional information on the explosion at the headquarters of the Democratic Russia Movement.

The Libertarian Party denies responsibility for that explosion.

Evidently, that was a provocation. But the Libertarians think that the source of the previous information was also provocative in its turn.

Silayev Discusses Cabinet Meeting 15 May

LD1705135991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 15 May 91

[Interview with Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, after the USSR Cabinet of Ministers meeting in Moscow on 15 May—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Today the heads of the governments of the Union republics met the leadership of the Union, headed by the president, in order to work out a program of joint action to stabilize the economy and bring the country out of the crisis. At the end of the meeting our parliamentary correspondents Boris Morkovnikov and Vladimir Klubnikov talked to Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the council of ministers of the Russian federation, about the results of this meeting.

[Interviewer] Ivan Stepanovich, what were the results of the meeting? What did you manage to achieve? Were the interests of the Russian Federation and its program taken into consideration at this meeting? As we know, further work has been or is being done on this program and it will shortly be put before the Supreme Soviet. As is known, this is a market program, based upon the provisions contained in the 500 days program—I am referring to the Russian program.

[Silayev] Today I should simply like to remind you and clarify the fact that we met at a sitting that was conducted by President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. But this one, no doubt as the next to the last meeting, the process began with something totally different [sentence as heard]. The program of the Cabinet of Ministers for emerging from the crisis had been worked out. It had been examined at the Supreme Soviet—I am simply reminding you of this— and then afterward when work began jointly with the governments of the republics it was transformed—at first at least as far as its title was concerned—into a program of work of the cabinet and the governments of the republics. This is a very important process. I simply want to draw attention to this. The date had been fixed—the 15th—for such a program to be drawn up in practice.

We have had two meetings in recent days. The day before yesterday there was a four-hour meeting with Pavlov and Shcherbakov: on our side there was (Lomov), my first deputy, and Comrade (Kamenev). And today there was the meeting with the full membership of the Cabinet of Ministers taking part, and practically all leaders of the governments of the Union republics. I have to say that the document, apart from its title, has substantially moved forward in the direction of reflecting the interests of the republics. It is pleasant to note that our own several thoughts of principle have also been taken into consideration.

Everyone spoke today, including me. We consider that this program must embrace two workloads: unquestionably a set of urgent anti-crisis measures, including, unfortunately, administrative methods; we believe that they should be refined and reduced and it has been promised that that will be done; and the second part—and this is how we understand the role of this program—it must take into consideration proposals that should enable the republics to implement their own economic programs. I cannot say that they all have these programs, but I know that in many they have already been confirmed by the supreme soviets or are on the way. And so further elements must be put into the program: principles and provisions must be added to it, making it possible and enabling the republics to implement economic programs for the transition to economic relations. Things that are going to hamper the republics in implementing their programs have to be removed from the program.

In general we expressed our views about this today, too: The problem of getting out of the crisis cannot be solved by administrative methods. We consider that on the contrary the transition to market relations is indeed action aimed at getting rid of these alarming situations of crisis—of the crisis pure and simple—vigorous movement toward the market. A considerable part of our ideas has been taken into consideration—I could not use the words "a substantial part." Let me tell you the most important ones: There is, for example, the transfer; the right to license and determine quotas for the export of output produced on the territories of the republics passes to the authority of the republics. We even set the position for barter. As a temporary measure, of course, this is not a very effective method of economic cooperation, but this issue, too, was fixed.

There was also serious discussion of the positions of the republics with regard to the separation of functions and the processes of privatization, and in general they were received with understanding. It was recognized—and this is written down in this version of the program—that privatization is carried out by the republics, with the exception of defense facilities, which work on the supply of weapons and the provision of equipment, and certain others, the railways, say, and things that will evidently be handed over for running by the center under the Union treaty—we lay no claim on those. And there are other functions, too.

It was recognized—and this is a most important issue—that the content and the purport and the scale of the state order should be changed. We object to the existing administrative pattern of the state order as the coercive placement of orders. We simply consider that the very meaning of the state order has been seriously distorted. There are state needs and they have to be satisfied. There are state programs, too, they can be Union programs and they can be republican programs and they have to be provided not just with financial resources but with material ones, too. But the state order was also taken to mean the distribution of the basic material resources via the center. In other words it was as though the Union structures here were operating as intermediaries between producers. Today it has been recognized that the state order is indeed a state order. It is not expressed in terms of percentages. It does not consist of levelling directives. The needs of the state have to be precisely defined and they have to be satisfied upon the conditions of market relations. In other words it must indeed be to the advantage of the producer. And it is very important that we agreed that this state order, whether it be a Union or a republican state order, shall be allocated by the bodies of the republic within its own territory.

The formation of the budgetary resources was a serious issue in this connection. There were a lot of problems with the formation of the budget of the cabinet—let us put it that way. You know that last year, by a decision of our Supreme Soviet, we make fixed payments in the sum of 23.4 billion and on top of that we have made contributions under a number of other income headings of the Union budget. Nevertheless the government proposed last year that we should agree to a federal tax of fixed modest dimensions. I think that we lost by raising the issue like that because today the income heading is unfortunately not being insured—perhaps production is continuing to fall and income from profits is much less—but we are obliged to pay out the fixed sum. We therefore supported the proposal of the cabinet that the budget of the cabinet has to consist of two parts, first a minimal federal tax, but one that passes through our appropriate structures, which must be considered every year by the Federation Council—that is to say the size of this tax—and confirmed by the Supreme Soviet, but the process without fail begins with the discussion at the Federation Council. At the Federation Council the cabinet has to prove and substantiate its planned expenditure in the interests of the cabinet itself and the Union needs. It must then be approved and confirmed by the Supreme Soviet. That is the first thing. That must be declared the permanent part.

The second part—to some extent a variable part—is the financing of the programs that are of interest to certain republics and perhaps for all republics, but with the interested republics taking a share in these programs. If Chernobyl, say, is under discussion there we are not raising the question of all contributing to that program, all republics. But we, at least three republics will make our contribution to that and we will jointly implement the program for eliminating the consequences.

There are issues, which are not as yet very clear, as to how incomes, and in particular foreign currency incomes, will be distributed. The foreign currency committee will be meeting tomorrow and this question will be discussed then. It is a complicated and difficult one, but we consider that the main receipts from the export of products ought to go to those who do the exporting.

[Interviewer] Thank you. In your account, the Russian foreign currency account, there is now zero [word indistinct].

[Silayev] Now, it is not even zero. If you take into account the fact that we have purchased 5 million tonnes of grain from Canada and a bit from Australia, then today we are substantial debtors. Consequently, we have got to dispose of the possibilities which Russia's natural wealth brings us. Here we shall press for this, and I think we will get it: the right to dispose of the sources of foreign currency. By the way, we have agreed—and this is acknowledged by all—to share the foreign currency fund. The point is that at this very acute moment when credit is not given, when the state owes, by Western estimates, 65 billion, the sharing of the national debt will make it possible to improve—strange though it may seem, perhaps—the situation regarding repayment of that debt. We have a preliminary accord with certain banks that if we get, if we have, our share of the national debt, they agree not to demand immediate repayment, but to extend for Russia—knowing that we have great resources at our disposal—extend it to such time as it will be within our power, and consequently goods will be supplied to us on the credits which have been granted. we shall continue to press the administrative methods which are available there in abundance, going so far as assigning criminal responsibility for the import by enterprises of machines, television sets and luxury items. Yes, indeed, at times like this, we cannot afford luxuries. But, in the first place, this is money earned by the enterprises, and in the second place, there are economic levers. You can impose very high tariffs, so that it just does not pay to buy luxury goods, and people will not buy them. So in the main you can say that we are pleased with the discussion.

[Interviewer] Ivan Stepanovich, another question: Everyone is interested in the Russian Government's specific program for stabilizing the economic situation and getting the republic out of the crisis. What are the main directions of the efforts of the Russian leadership to achieve these aims? What concrete measures, for example, to liberalize prices, will be taken, and what steps will be taken in the field of social security for our population?

[Silayev] It will now be called a program of joint action. And we cannot, even morally or politically, evade the issue and say no, this is not our program. We are trying our best to insure that it reflects our approaches, too. But, nevertheless, this program is called a program for overcoming the crisis. But we consider that this is a stage. Our program is to stabilize the economy and effect the transition to market relations. Moreover we consider that we must eliminate the crisis precisely on the principles of the transition to market relations. So there you have the fundamental difference, shall we say. So we are trying to insure that the anti-crisis measures contain elements of market relations—we are striving for this—and methods for some sort of, as it were, transitional stages from the administrative to the economic. This is a specific brief stage within a six-month framework, I should say.

Well, you see, I have said again and again that stabilization cannot be achieved by administrative methods. Of course you can squeeze, you can cast everything off, and today unfortunately a number of leaders of the industries have been calling for this: Centralize, insure. We consider that only market methods will enable us to stabilize the economy and rectify the crisis situation. The main thing is to create conditions for business activity by the whole nation, as I would put it. To create economic conditions. To provide the opportunity to start up one's own business either individually, on a private basis, or to own shares while working in the labor collectives. So we regard this as the most urgent task: to give citizens the opportunity, to each in accordance with his abilities, to earn what he is capable of earning, and not take from him the main part of his income. Here we are talking about income tax. We do not intend to introduce progressive—a geometrical progression from citizen's income. Thirty percent and no more, no matter how much he earns. Consequently he will begin to be in receipt of funds that he can invest in shares, or with which he can buy a little (?land) or invest his money in some other form. Real estate is safe if it is protected by law as the right to private property. That is what we have in mind. So the primary thing is to create economic conditions for the development of the business activity of everyone who is able to engage in it. After that, naturally, comes social security. Those who cannot do it, or have not yet started work or who have finished working.

The main organizational measure for this purpose is privatization: giving the workers, particular people, whether in the collective or individually, that which they now have the use of, but which does not belong to them. It is a matter of restoring the right to own the means of production and other resources by peaceful means. And by combining these two approaches we think we can create stimuli so that an activization of the economy can get going and there can be a desire to turn out only the products which our society needs. That means, above all, services and consumer goods, on the consumer market. Well, there are also many other elements, including active work on land reform, that is going forward, and I think that part of the program is developing quite vigorously. It was expected that there would be 10,000 peasant farms by the end of this year, and today there are 17,000. I think the year will end with 30,000 though we need to have around 300-400,000, but that will evidently take two or three years.

Privatization in the field of housing has also been thought through and when the law is passed—it has already been given its first reading—it will begin to be implemented in the Russian Federation.

I have said nothing about one vital element; true, it is controversial, and it is controversial in the world, too, but we have embraced it. Not every citizen has the initial capital to invest in the purchase of shares or whatever it may be. We are bringing in a distributive principle, as it is called, which is that every citizen of Russia, from the infant to the elderly person, to say nothing of those who are working, receives personal shares worth about 7,000 rubles. Having that initial capital, already, then we exclude any talk to the effect that these benefits and opportunities will be enjoyed by those who already have large incomes today, plus [words indistinct]. We are giving every citizen an opportunity to begin entering the processes of privatization and the processes of ownership, whether individual or in the collective, of the various forms of property.

In short, the main task is to evoke incentives and an interest in personal labor through ownership, through the feeling of owning something, and that it is protected by law, and will not be taken away: whether it be land, or shares, or some other forms of ownership. And on that basis, with the state playing a directing and regulating role, a movement toward market relations. Price liberalization—yes. And we think this is nothing to be afraid of, since today we in the Russian Federation have already almost passed in the Supreme Soviet a law on indexation of prices. World practice has developed this mechanism, and in general our program does not claim any unique originality. It is the generalized experience of a great many states, plus a certain specificity as applied to the Russian Federation; and we are convinced that as it has worked reliably abroad, it will work for us too.

[Interviewer] Radio Rossii thanks Ivan Stepanovich Silayev for that conversation.

Silayev Discusses Economic Reform Plans

LD1605111791 Moscow TASS in English 0942 GMT 16 May 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Boris Zvered and Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev believes that the transition to market relations alone can stabilise the Soviet economy and haul the country out of the crisis. In a TASS interview, he commented on some of the provisions in the Russian government's programme to transfer the republic to market relations.

Silayev noted that there was a significant difference between the Russian economic reform package and the joint programme of action being elaborated by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the governments of Union republics.

"The federal programme aims only to deal with the crisis whereas the Russian package of reforms proceeds from the premise that the country can be jolted out of the crisis precisely on the principles of a transition to market relations," Silayev said.

"Therefore we are working to make sure that anti-crisis measures include elements of market relations and methods for the transition period from administrative to economic measures," Silayev stressed.

He pointed out that the Russian government intended "actively to encourage foreign investment in the Russian economy and open the domestic market to foreign partners." He stressed that the Russian cabinet also planned to introduce restrictions if Western industry began to overpower the republican industry.

Silayev described moves "to create the economic conditions for people to engage in business activity and set up small firms" as one of the programme's most important elements.

"The priority task is to enable citizens to earn as much as they can," Silayev said. To this end, he announced a planned reduction in income tax to below 30 per cent.

Silayev emphasised the importance of privatisation in the republic. The first to be privatised will be enterprises in the service sector and those producing consumer goods. Silayev reiterated the well-known stance of the republican leadership that all citizens of the Russian Federation ought to receive shares in order to be able to engage in business.

Western Republics

Belorussian Supreme Soviet Discusses Presidency

LD1705145291 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 0300 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Belorussia may have its own president soon. The first step toward this was made on 16 May at the

Supreme Soviet Presidium sitting which discussed the draft agenda of the next session. It envisions considering more than 30 questions. The draft program of the Belorussian Government on stabilizing the economy is on the first priority list. As Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich stated, this document received a new title: Draft State Program for Stabilizing the Economy and Social Protection of the Population of the Republic. Such a change is not incidental. Social protection of the individual is at the center of the program. Draft laws on fundamental issues of denationalization and privatization, on urgent measures for implementing the republic's budget for the second half of this year, on redistribution of authorities between the highest state bodies of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [BSSR] for ensuring stability during the transfer to a market economy, and other questions will also be considered. The members of the Presidium suggested that Nikolay Dementey, chairman of the BSSR Supreme Soviet, give an analysis of the social and political situation in the republic at the opening of the session. It is envisioned that the fourth session of the BSSR Supreme Soviet will last from 21 May to 11 June. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet considered the proposal by the Molodechno town and rayon soviets of people's deputies on carrying out an economic experiment in that region and questions of organizing protection of the Belorussian historical and cultural legacy.

Belorussian Draft Socioeconomic Plan Published

LD1805163491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0737 GMT 18 May 91

[Text] Minsk, 18 May (TASS)—A draft state program for stabilization of the economy and for social protection of the population of the republic has been published in Belorussia. The extraordinary anticrisis program is to avert the destruction of the national economy, to ensure that the republic consistently moves toward a market economy, and to arrest the decline in the population's standard of life. The first steps to go over to the market economy have already been taken in Belorussia.

The transformation of state enterprises into shareholding companies and economic associations has begun. Property leasing with a right to buy is also in operation. The program envisages that by the end of this year more than 100 enterprises will will have been added to the lease-and-buy scheme, and that some 60 works and factories will have been transformed into shareholding companies and other collective forms. First and foremost, trade, public catering, everyday services, motor vehicle servicing, small enterprises in transport, industry, and other national economy sectors where nonstate structures are the most effective are to be privatized. The transformation of specialized banks into commercial banks is to be completed this year. A broad network of auditing and brokerage firms, a stock exchange, holdings and investments companies are also to be set up by the end of the year. Employment bureaus, which are to be found everywhere in the republic, are to form the basis of the labor market infrastructure.

The program includes a number of chapters which set out the stabilization measures in the consumer, agroindustrial, industrial, scientific, social, and cultual areas. A large chapter is devoted to urgent measures in the area of social protection of the population and improving labor relations. The task of increasing the average wages of those engaged in the material production sphere by one and one-half times to two times this year and next year, as well as significantly increasing the wage of those engaged in nonproductive spheres, together with the inclusion of compensation payments and the indexation of incomes that has been carried out, has been set.

The draft of the anticrisis state program for stabilization of the economy and for the social protection of the population has been submitted to popular discussion. People's deputies will examine it at the next session of the Belorussian Parliament, which will open on 21 May.

Belorussian Supreme Soviet To Air Strike Issues

PM1905192991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 May 91 Union Edition p 2

[Mikhail Shimanskiy report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Parliament To Discuss Demands"]

[Text] The Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium is submitting the proposals and demands of workers and participants in the April rallies and strikes for consideration at the upcoming parliamentary session.

During working peoples' speeches in April a number of economic and political proposals were put before the government and republic Supreme Soviet. The Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium charged the permanent commissions with preparing and submitting a whole range of questions for examination at the session, which opens 21 May. The economic questions are about private ownership of land. The political questions are about the departyization of state enterprises and organizations, about the depoliticization of law enforcement organs, about the property of the CPSU and Belorussian Communist Party, and about the performance of military service on Belorussian territory by people drafted into the USSR Armed Forces.

These are precisely the questions on which sharp criticism of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the government was voiced at the rallies.

Protests at Scene of Khmara Trial in Ukraine

LD1605173491 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 14 May 91

[Text] As we have already reported, the trial of People's Deputy Stepan Khmara, the most widely known defendant in the Ukraine, started in Kiev today. Mykola Marynenko reports about the event in more detail.

[Marynenko] I think that the militia chiefs will not be able to recall another defendant who has caused them so much trouble, embarrassment, and in maintaining law and order. The situation in Kiev is not quiet either. Columns of demonstrators with yellow and blue flags, loudspeakers, and placards, such as "Freedom to political prisoners," "No to despotism in respect to Stepan Khmara," and "Long live sovereign Ukraine" marched this morning toward the downtown building where the court session was to take place. Near the building itself militia cordons were strengthened, and it is therefore impossible to go through them without a special pass.

It is 1000 and the court session starts. I will remind you that the case of People's Deputy Stepan Khmara, Oleksiy Kovalchuk, and the other four arrested, comprises 27 volumes. The investigation spent five months establishing details. Khmara is accused of exceeding his authority, brigandage, damaging personal and state property, and organizing mass disturbances. Meanwhile, the first court session lasted no longer than it took me to tell you about the point of the matter. I asked Viktor Bed, Stepan Khmara's defense attorney and people's deputy of the Ukraine, to comment on the events that took place in the courtroom:

[Begin recording] [Bed] I want to note that what happened today is an unprecedented incident, I would say, in the system of justice in general. We were not allowed in even as defense attorneys. They demanded some pass which is not in any law. Besides, as it turned out, other defense attorneys on the Khmara case—Nikazakov and Ayvazyan—were stopped by the militia and not let through. Regardless of the fact that even the defense attorneys did not get through to the courtroom, and even People's Deputy Stepan Khmara did not get through, the chairman of the court session started the trial.

At our turn—we had to, as we were present in the courtroom—I took the floor and said that in such conditions, when the defense attorneys in both the case of Stepan Khmara and that of the other defendants that were present, were not allowed in the courtroom, the trial simply could not continue. We protested that a system of passes to the courtroom had been introduced, something that is not sanctioned by the code of criminal procedure, and that it is supposed to be an open trial. This in turn indicates that the trial is being artificially closed in order to restrict attendance. The court replied that, taking our statement into consideration, and also due to the fact that Kovalchuk voiced a number of protests and that his behavior is in our view somewhat inadequate—he said in the courtroom that he had been injected with drugs—that therefore the session was adjourned until 1000 tomorrow in order to establish the attitude of the given defendant. [end recording]

[Marynenko] I approached Stepan Khmara himself on the same square in front of the court building.

Mr. Stepan, just one minute, I said, International Information Service! He was surrounded by people's deputies, journalists, his lawyers, and supporters. I particularly expressed interest in how Khmara assessed this trial. Unfortunately, for some unknown reason my recorder failed, therefore I will recall Stepan Khmara's answer in my own words. He said that he did not think about the trial. Those who practice despotism and who started this political provocation should think about it. In Khmara's view, the communist leaders are at the head of all this. After the interview with Khmara, I had the opportunity to visit the place of the court session. It is a small hall with low ceiling and barred windows. It is designed to accommodate some 60 people. I also asked the chairman of this session to comment on today's upheavals. Go ahead:

[Bilousenko] I am Vasyl Hordiyovych Bilousenko. I would like to refuse to give any interviews at present in case my words are wrongly interpreted by either party. Unfortunately, I cannot say anything else. The second day of the trial will start tomorrow and we will see how it goes.

[Marynenko] Thus, let us wait until tomorrow, as they say. But the events around the trial of People's Deputy Stepan Khmara did not finish today. A crowd of several thousand Kievans and guests of the city set off from the court building toward Khryshchatyk Street with yellow and blue flags, slogans, and placards with words of protest, and headed by Stepan Khmara himself. The militia cordon could stop the agitated people only for a moment. Finally, they breached this barrier and moved on, but the crowd was stopped literally several hundred meters away this time by a special detachment of militia. Rubber truncheons were used, and according to preliminary information, five people were injured. After that the dispersed crowd gathered again and started organizing improvised and unauthorized meetings. They would die away and then would flare up with more power. This is how difficult the first day was of the trial of Stepan Khmara, people's deputy and the most widely known defendant in the Ukraine.

Trial Postponed by Protests

LD1705135291 Kiev International Service in English 0000 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Today was the third day of the trial against People's Deputy Stepan Khmara. Soon after the beginning of the court proceedings it became clear that the trial will again be postponed. Says Stepan Khmara's lawyer, Yuriy Ayvazyan: The court proceedings did not actually get under way, says Yuriy Ayvazyan. The chairman of the court announced that the trial was postponed for an indefinite period of time, due to the picketing of the court building. I think such an excuse is lame, and has nothing to do with the possible legal reasons for the postponement of the court proceedings. Actually, the trial is taking place behind closed doors in violation of all constitutional norms and international law, said Yuriy Ayvazyan, the defender of Stepan Khmara.

The column of demonstrators marched from the building of the court to the building of the Supreme Court of Ukraine. The demonstration participants demanded that the Supreme Court should resume the court proceedings, provide a larger hall and the possibility of covering the trial by radio and television. Meanwhile, the demonstrators split into groups, holding unsanctioned meetings in various parts of the city. There were clashes with the militia and traffic jams in the streets. Such was the third day of the trial against People's Deputy Stepan Khmara.

Moldovan Premier Accused of 'Serious Errors'

PM1705105591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 May 91 First Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent F. Angeli report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Crisis Brewing"]

[Text] Kishinev, 16 May—Moldova is going through a most critical period in its history. This was the conclusion reached by deputies at a sitting of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet session.

Approximately 20 people spoke in the debate on President M. Snegur's report on the republic's economic, political, and social situation and ways out of the crisis. The speakers, who sometimes held diametrically opposed viewpoints, made speeches of a sharp nature. Some of them tried to prove that the republic cannot survive without signing the Union Treaty. Others—supporters of the right wing of the People's Front, for example—sharply oppose it.

Apart from several supporters of the People's Front, which originally nominated Prime Minister M. Druk, all the speakers leveled tough criticism at the Moldovan head of government in one connection or another for serious errors in his work. Four deputies clubs demanded the head of government's resignation.

Caucasus

Gamsakhurdia To Meet Gorbachev in Late May

PM1705154891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 May 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Besik Urigashvili from Tbilisi: "Z. Gamsakhurdia on a Meeting With M. Gorbachev"]

[Text] Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia stated at an election meeting with workers at the "Mion" Production Association that a meeting between himself and USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev is proposed for the end of May.

"Independence is our main aim, the only way out of the situation that has arisen," Gamsakhurdia said. "But we do not want confrontation, a deterioration in the situation, or a worsening of relations with the center. We want to build those relations at a level that is acceptable to both parties." According to Gamsakhurdia, there have been positive developments in this respect. The center is not displaying its former aggressiveness toward Georgia, and on some issues points of contact have been found.

"I am confident that after the meeting with Gorbachev much will be clarified," Gamsakhurdia noted. Admittedly, he did not make it clear whether this meeting will take place before or after the presidential election, which is scheduled for 26 May.

Views Relations With Moscow

LD1805083191 Moscow TASS in English 0813 GMT 18 May 91

[Text] Tbilisi May 18 TASS—"The only road for Georgia is real independence, but we do not want confrontation and aggravated relations with the centre," Georgian incumbent president Zviad Gamsakhurdia told an electoral rally at the Mion Production Amalgamation.

He was nominated by the "Roundtable-Free Georgia" political bloc for the Georgian Executive Presidency at elections set for May 26.

"We want to build these relations on a level acceptable for both sides. Incidentally, there are positive changes in this direction," the Georgian leader claimed. Gamsakhurdia is scheduled to meet President Mikhail Gorbachev late this month.

"I'm sure, much will become clearer after this meeting," he noted.

Situation Calm in South Ossetia 17 May

LD1805221291 Moscow TASS in English 2158 GMT 18 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz May 19 TASS—The situation remained calm in South Ossetia on Friday. Although seismic processes inside the Caucasus mountains are abating, the probability of land sliding is still high in the region, scientists say.

The recent earthquake killed 55 people and destroyed 3,027 houses, leaving 10,000 people homeless. The village of Khekheti in Dzhava district was buried under a heap of mud and rocks that slid from the mountains, killing 40 people.

Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Andrey Girenko visited the region on Friday. He focused on ways to settle inter-ethnic conflicts here and eliminate the consequences of the earthquake.

Humanitarian aid from Russia is arriving to Dzhava under Soviet Interior Ministry troops' guard. It includes machinery, construction materials, foodstuffs and medicines.

Germany, France, Japan, Sweden, Turkey and Israel are also providing urgent aid to South Ossetia.

All by-ways to Tskhinvali are blocked by Georgian militants.

The city continues to live under an economic blockade as its industrial enterprises, railway station and communal services stopped operating six months ago.

North Ossetia is facing a growing flow of refugees from its south neighbour, Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Rustavi, Batumi and other regions of Georgia. Over 30,000 refugees have been registered in Vladikavkaz.

Military Task Force Controls Tskhinvali Situation

LD1805190291 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 18 May 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent I. Tabolova] The state of emergency in Tskhinvali and Dzhavskiy Rayon is continuing and will remain in force until 15 June. The situation is being controlled today by a military task force. [video shows armed men in uniform on guard, tank traps, barbed wire fencing, handwritten notice "Prohibited Area: Trespassers Will be Shot Without Warning," interview with two uniformed men]

[Colonel A.P. Bobrovnik] Assessing the situation today in the area in question, it should be said that our task force is taking all measures to stabilize the situation. It nevertheless continues to remain difficult, contradictory. In order to emerge from this situation, we consider it essential that both sides reach some sort of agreement through negotiations, and start implementing them immediately, so that they do not remain simply on paper but are implemented in practice.

[Tabolova] The economic blocakde of the oblast, which has also suffered from an earthquake, continues as before. Since December last year, not a signle freight car carrying raw materials or food has arrived by rail. The oblast is living on humanitarian aid. Because of a lack of raw materials, enterprises, with the exception of the bread factory, are not operating. People have not been receiving wages for several months. There is still no budget in South Ossetia, and the banks are not functioning. There is no money even to pay for the flour that comes from North Ossetia. Spring field work has not been carried out in rural rayons because of guerrilla action. The threat of famine has once again emerged. Every day more refugees arrive in Tskhinvali from rayons densely populated with Ossetians in inner Georgia—Borzhomskiy and Goriyskiy Rayons, Kakhetia, and Rustavi. Today 7,110 of these refugees have been registered. The stabilization of the situation demands that the whole package of problems in this much afflicted area be resolved without delay.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Appeals to Gorbachev

NC1905103491 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 18 May 91

[Decision adopted by the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet in Yerevan on 17 May]

[Text] The actions of the Soviet Armed Forces and the Azerbaijani Special Purpose Militia Detachment in the area along the border between the Republic of Armenia and Azerbaijan and in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] have revived the war against Armenia. The passport checks, the banning of the [word indistinct] unforeseen formation of USSR armed groups and the confiscation of illegal arms, the savagery being perpetrated (?under the guise of) implementing the Soviet president's decree, the deportation of Armenians, the terrorism, the [word indistinct], the massacres, the plundering, the disrespect, and all other acts of barbarism are clear indications of genocide. Despite the verbal assurances of high-ranking Soviet officials that the crimes would be stopped, the violence is actually escalating. Having examined ways to halt these incidents and to prevent further bloodshed, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia has decided to appeal to the Soviet president, requesting him to:

A. Put an end to these [word indistinct] (?incidents) in the Karabakh area, which have created a climate of lawlessness, and to halt the Azerbaijani Special Purpose Militia Detachment's participation in the passport checks and all illegal activities taking place today.

B. Dispatch special teams of (?observers), including members of the security committee, [word indistinct] representatives of the Armenian Republic and other republics, USSR people's deputies, and correspondents to Karabakh within two days to examine how constitutional order can be restored.

C. Demand equal compliance with official decrees from the Azerbaijani side.

D. Secure the return of deported Armenian residents of Getashen and Martunashen villages and the NKAO's Gadruytskiy and Berdadzor and other subrayons to their homes and guarantee their safety.

E. Solve the issue of the illegal detention of citizens and secure their immediate release.

F. Hold the commandant of the state of emergency rayon responsible for protecting the Armenian population of the NKAO and Shaumyanskiy Rayon.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Views NKAO Situation

NC1905100091 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 18 May 91

[Text] The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet discussed the situation in Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh

Autonomous Oblast, NKAO], particularly in Gadruytskiy and Berdadzor, at an extraordinary session on the evening of 17 May. Earlier in the day, the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet and the republic's leadership had exerted every effort to stop the savage deportation of Armenians from residential areas in Artsakh.

A Supreme Soviet delegation was sent to Gorisskiy in the evening to meet with the Armenians deported from Gadruytskiy and to discuss their security and return to their homes. The Supreme Soviet also adopted a decision on the situation that has been created in the Armenian-Azerbaijan border regions and the NKAO. Another decision was adopted on the illegal detention of Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet Deputy Gamlet Vagharshakovich Grigoryan, demanding that his consititutional immunity be respected and that the USSR procurator general take measures to secure his immediate release.

Armenian Emergency Council Reviews Situation

NC1905111591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 18 May 91

[Text] The republic's Temporary Council on the Emergency Situation met on 18 May under the chairmanship of Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium.

At the beginning of the session, which was devoted to a discussion of the situation in the southeastern area, Babken Ararktsyan, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and its deputy chairman, delivered reports on the situation of the people deported from some villages in Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and Gadruytskiy and from the border area in Gorisskiy and on the measures being taken to assist them. It was pointed out that the number of deportees increased overnight and now totals some 500. Ways to guarantee their safety and questions connected with their return home were discussed. It was pointed out that a Supreme Soviet delegation is on the spot and that great importance is being attached to the deportees and their safety. Levon Ter-Petrosyan reported on the negotiations being held with high-ranking Soviet military leaders on the future of the people who have been deported from Gadruytskiy.

The session resumed after a recess under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Vazgen Manukyan. He reported on his activities in Moscow and particularly on his meetings with President Gorbachev and various ministers.

The council then discussed the upgrading of the republic's state institutions and ways to coordinate policy. It was decided that recommendations in this connection would be submitted to legislature after the necessary studies are carried out.

The republic's Temporary Council on the Emergency Situation is to continue its session tomorrow.

Armenian Declaration on 'State Terrorism'

NC1805140091 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 17 May 91

["Armenian Republic Supreme Declaration on the (?Assessment) of State Terrorism Against the Armenian Republic and People"—radio headline]

[Text] The regional situation has been artificially aggravated for the third time. Using the current Azerbaijani regime, the center is trying to check Armenia's process for self-determination at all costs. It is also attempting to nurture the mistaken notion that the republic cannot maintain an independent existence without Soviet assistance in order to restrain the republic from the path of independence and to topple the legitimate government.

Under the pretext of implementing the USSR presidential decree on banning armed groups not called for by the USSR Constitution and the confiscation of illegally kept weapons, the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] troops—in cooperation with the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] Special Purpose Militia [OMON]—deported the Armenian population from the Armenian settlements of Getashen and Martunashen. In doing so, the MVD appeased the Azerbaijani regime and openly admitted its own ineptitude in ensuring the security of human life and other vital rights and freedoms envisaged by international norms of human rights.

The same pretext was used to silence the voice of protest of the progressive public [words indistinct] and [words indistinct] on Armenia's border regions. At that time, the Armenian republic's sovereignty, guaranteed by the USSR Constitution, and her citizens most basic rights and freedoms were substantially trampled upon by barbaric and inhuman operations. The policy of state terrorism has entered a new stage: mass savagery is the current policy in Nagorno-Karabakh, where people are faced with ultimatums to abandon their homes.

Hoping to prevent the spread of the officially organized vandalism against the Armenian population and Armenian people and (?to remind the organizations outside Armenia of their legal responsibilities), the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet declares:

1. A policy of mass atrocities and forced deportations planned by the central and Azerbaijani authorities is being carried out against the Armenian people. [passage indistinct]

2. Article 54 of the USSR Constitution and Article 52 of the Armenian Republic Constitution, which guarantees a person's inviolable right to security, has been grossly violated. A large number of citizens have been detained and taken out of the Armenian Republic without any relevant court decision or order. Violating Article (?38) of the USSR Law on the Status of the People's Deputies and without the consent of the relevant rayon soviets, many rayon soviet people's deputies have also been detained and taken out of the republic. Most of the

abducted citizens of the Armenian Republic [words indistinct] without any trial or court decision.

The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet Demands:

A. That evidence be furnished proving the legality of the detention of the Armenian Republic citizens and, in line with the territorial principle of the [word indistinct] crimes, that these documents be handed over to the law enforcement organs of the Armenian Republic for criminal investigation.

B. The destruction of the houses and villages, the pillaging of the property of the citizens and their subjection to [word indistinct] physical torture during the said operations directly violates the provisions of Articles 55 and 57 of the USSR Constitution and Articles 53 and 55 of the Armenian Republic Constitution. The operations are [word indistinct] punishable grave crimes and those guilty for [word indistinct] murders, atrocities [word indistinct] and destruction must be handed over to the Armenian Republic's law enforcement organs to face criminal charges against them in accordance with the Armenian Republic's law.

3. The punitive operations conducted against the Armenian people and the overt cooperation of the USSR MVD's Internal Troops with the Azerbaijani Republic's OMON directly violates Articles (?31) of the USSR Constitution and Article 34 of the Armenian Republic's Constitution, which states: Any direct or indirect limitation of rights on the basis of race or national origin [words indistinct] is punishable by law. [words indistinct]

4. The disarming of the Armenian Republic MVD workers and the confiscation of their standard issue personal arms contradicts Article 138 of the USSR Constitution and Article 71 and (?98) of the Armenian Republic. [passage indistinct] According to Point 7 of Article 98 of the Armenian Republic's Constitution, if necessary the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet takes measures to ensure the security of the republic and its citizens. Therefore, the defense of the Armenian Republic's borders and its citizens is the constitutional right of the Armenian Republic. The violation of this constitutional right would lead to the destabilization of the republic.

5. (?In accordance with) the Articles 76 and 51 of the USSR Constitution, the (?punitive actions taken in the Armenian Republic's territory by the USSR MVD's Internal Troops and the OMON of the Azerbaijan SSR), is a gross violation of the Armenian Republic's sovereignty.

6. (?The illegal) operations of the USSR MVD grossly violates USSR law concerning the rights and duties of the USSR MVD's Internal Troops and (?we believe them to be) organized crime supervised by the center.

7. The USSR (?law) on the duties and rights of the USSR MVD's Internal Troops bars them from using weapons against women and children, except in cases when they are engaged in armed attack or armed resistance. The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet has ample evidence at its disposal indicating the use of arms against the peaceful population including elderly, women and children [words indistinct]. The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet (?asks for the documentation) of all cases where arms were used against its citizens and the Armenian representatives.

8. During the punitive operations, the constitutions and laws of the USSR and the Armenian Republic were not the only things violated, also the international norm of conducting war, the convention on the treatment of prisoners, and the convention on the protection of civil populations during war. Not only should all the prisoners be released immediately, but those who allowed atrocities to be committed against them should be punished accordingly.

9. The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet qualifies what has taken place as a [word indistinct] based on the policy of state terrorism. The material, and written and oral (?evidence) submitted to the Supreme Soviet, clearly confirm that the deportation of the Armenians from their native lands was organized by the USSR MVD's Internal Troops, the Soviet Army, and the Azerbaijani OMON. The devastation, arson and numerous murders along the Armenian border regions were (?premeditated) and preplanned crimes against the Armenian Republic, which has set a course of self-determination for itself and its citizens. [Dated] 16 May 1991, Yerevan

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Armenia Notes 'War' Situation, Seeks Observers

LD1905172991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1630 GMT 19 May 91

[Text] We have received the following information from Yerevan: A decision by the Armenian Supreme Soviet adopted at an extraordinary closed session of the republic's legislature in connection with the situation that has taken shape in the regions of Armenia bordering on Azerbaijan and in Nagorno-Karabakh has been published here. In the decision it is noted in particular that the continuing actions of the USSR Armed Forces and the special purpose militia detachments of the Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs have virtually developed into a war against Armenia. Under the pretext of checking the passport system and implementing the decree by the country's president on disarming illegal armed formations, acts of cruelty against Armenians are being perpetrated. In the opinion of the republic's legislature, the forcible deportation of citizens of Armenian nationality, the intimidation, killing, and robberies are the latest indications of genocide. It is proposed to the president of the USSR that he send, within a two-day time period, special groups of observers to Nagorno-Karabakh to monitor legality during the implementation of the presidential decree on disarmament.

Demands Observers Within Two Days

LD1905174691 Moscow TASS in English 1716 GMT 19 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan May 19 TASS—The Armenian parliament suggested on Friday that the Soviet president send a special group of observers to the Nagorno-Karabakh region in a two-day time to control legality of actions concerning the execution of the presidential decree on disarmament.

In the Armenian parliament's opinion, the group should include representatives from the Soviet Security Council, Armenia and other republics, as well as all-Union legislators and reporters.

This proposal is contained in a decision, which was adopted by the Armenian parliament on Friday evening and issued today.

The document was approved at a closed session of the republican parliament in connection with the situation in the border areas between Azerbaijan and Armenia and in the Nagorno-Karabakh region.

The decision notes that operations by "the Soviet Armed Forces and the Azerbaijani Interior Ministry task force has developed into a war against Armenia."

Under the pretext of checking passports and implementing the presidential decree to disarm illegal armed groups, the document notes, "brutalities were committed" against Armenians.

The Armenian parliament noted that the commandant's office of the state of emergency region must be charged with ensuring security of the Armenian population in the Nagorno-Karabakh region and the Shaumyan district in Azerbaijan.

The Armenian State Security Committee today protested at "reports and information in various mass media, which distort the real state of affairs in the region."

In the committee's opinion, reports by the "Vremya" programme of Central Television, "communiques by the all-Union Interior Ministry" telecasts by Central Television and some articles in PRAVDA "were drafted according to the same scenario, attempting to conceal the truth from the public."

Armenia Sets Up Commission To Study Provocation

LD1605133291 Yerevan GOLOS ARMENII in Russian 1 May 91 p 1

["Decision by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia On Studying the Provocation of Illegal Actions by Certain Officials of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in Artsakh, Shaumyanovskiy Rayon and Getashenskiy Sub-Rayon"]

[Excerpts] The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia has decided:

1. To form a commission of deputies to study incidents involving the provocation of illegal actions by certain officials of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in Artsakh, Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, and Getashenskiy sub-rayon, including the following:

Commission Chairman: Suren Tigranovich Zolyan, secretary of the special commission on issues concerning Artsakh at the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia. [passage omitted]

2. To instruct the commission to work with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the prosecutor's office, the KGB, and the Republic of Armenia's State Committee for Special Economic Programs to compile a report within a month and present it for examination by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia.

[Signed] Lenon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia

[Signed] A. Saakyan, secretary of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia

[Dated] Yerevan, 25 April 1991

Central Media Accused of Misrepresenting Facts

OW2005094191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0930 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Today, on May 17, the Armenian KGB made public a statement lashing out against the alleged misrepresentation of the situation in the area of the conflict between the Armenians and the Azeri. Specifically, the article "On the Land Black from Sorrow and Wrath" that appeared the other day in Pravda, the quasi-official Vremya programme and the reports of the Soviet Interior Ministry broadcast by the Central TV create the impression that they follow a single scenario. The Armenian KGB views them as an attempt to misrepresent the facts, to conceal the crimes of the Azeri OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] police units committed after April 30 and those of the Interior Ministry troops and the Soviet Army.

Armenia reports that over the last two weeks 13 militiamen (policemen) were killed, five people were wounded and 61 individuals were taken hostage, including Russians, Poles and Greeks in the villages on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. In this connection the Armenian KGB reminded that Pravda had carried photographs of two Armenian militiamen who were represented as militants. The statement also claims the Soviet Interior Ministry reports telecast by Central TV lied when maintaining that the servicemen had only engaged in peace-keeping operations against the militants but not against the civilians. According to the Armenian KGB, when one of the villages, Shurlukh, was attacked in which there were no armed people save for militiamen, the operation by the army troops that involved numerous shellings, including those from combat helicopters, did much damage to the television mast, ruined and exploded TV mast room, and nearly all the houses have been pockmarked by bullets. All the adults and the militia guarding the village were taken to Azerbaijan.

The Armenian KGB says the situation in the region sharply deteriorated after the beinning of the operations that Armenia views as the deportation of the Armenian population from Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh where "the residents are forced at gunpoint to sign statements of willingness to leave the home area".

Situation Remains Tense in Nagorno-Karabakh

OW2005090191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains tense. There have been reports from Gadrut, the district capital, that members of a special police unit, the OMON, accompanied by a large group of plain-clothed gunmen entered into several villages in the district starting pogroms and plundering. According to local residents, these villages have been virtually devastated and many houses have been set ablaze.

The commandant of the Nagorno-Karabakh emergency area, Colonel Vladimir Zhukov, sent his men with armored personnel carriers to Berdazor where, according to the accounts of refugees from the district, Azerbaijani OMON members carried out forceful deportations. On Tuesday, the military from the commandant's headquarters intervened for the first time ever in the events by sending troops to a village where local residents also complained of the OMON's activities.

There was a shootout in Stepanakert, the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh, on Thursday night. The Armenians claim that the shooting started from Azerbaijani houses in a suburb of the city, and the fire was directed at Armenian houses. The military from the commandant's headquarters opened fire in response to the attack.

Area Described

LD1705205691 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS—The situation in and around Nagorno-Karabakh remains extremely tense.

The Azerbaijani news agency AZERINFORM cited the republic's Interior Ministry as saying that the law enforcement agency of the republic jointly with Soviet interior and security troops continued taking steps to disarm Armenian militants and ensure law and order in Nagorno-Karabakh.

However, measures to restore law and order have run against vehement resistance on the part of militants. Militia and Army patrols met today with armed resistance in the Martuni and Mardakert districts of the region. As a result of the criminal action one militiaman was killed and two injured.

Law enforcers have detained 344 offenders, of which 145 were suspected of complicity in earlier acts of terror, murder, burglary and other grave crimes. The forces of law are fully in control of the situation.

The Armenian parliament today continued its extraordinary session in Yerevan convened to discuss the aggravation of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region.

In his opening address Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan told parliament about his talks with the Union leadership. He said the purpose of the talks was to make Nagorno-Karabakh subordinate to the commandant's office in the special area under the state of emergency and to rule out the participation of the Azerbaijani Interior Ministry's task-force in actions on Nagorno-Karabakh territory.

As is known, Soviet parliament Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov told the parliament session on Thursday that all actions aiming to disarm militants in Nagorno-Karabakh were taken only under sanction from the USSR Interior Ministry.

A day earlier, the Armenian parliament after discussing the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh adopted an appeal to the U.N. secretary-general which pointed out that the Armenian parliament's request to send U.N. observers to Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh had been left unanswered.

A statement by Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan was circulated in Yerevan. The statement notes among other things that the warning by the Armenian leadership about the danger threatening the Armenian population in Nagorno-Karabakh had proved futile. He reiterated the need to forbid the participation of the Azerbaijani Interior Ministry's task force in operations to check passports and registration papers.

Concern over alarming reports from Nagorno-Karabakh was expressed in a telegram addressed to the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee by the bureau of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. The bureau called on the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee to take urgent action to end unlawful actions.

Detentions Reported

NC1805153191 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 17 May 91

[Excerpts] The press center of the State Committee for the Implementation of Special Projects has informed our correspondent that Azerbaijani security forces and Ministry of Internal Affairs services [word indistinct] detentions in Stepanakert last night and this morning. [words indistinct] According to the preliminary reports, 10 people were detained and taken to Agdam. In the Kirkidzhan District of Stepanakert, where the Azerbaijanis and Armenians live in close proximity, Azerbaijanis have opened fire and demanded that Armenians leave the district. Armenian troops returned the fire and an hour-and-a-half shootout ensued. The attack was to frighten the residents of Stepanakert. Two people were injured and two were detained.

Nine people from (?Hadir) village in Mardakertskiy Rayon were detained and taken to Mir-Bashir. [passage indistinct] Fourteen villages have been abandoned in the Gadrutskiy Rayon. [passage omitted]. The Azerbaijani Special Purpose Militia [OMON] has now surrounded [name indistinct] village [words indistinct].

According to information from Nagorno-Karabakh received at 1100, peaceful citizens are continuing to be detained in Martuninskiy Rayon. Seventeen people were detained today. To date, 70 people have been detained in Martuninskiy Rayon, including the the chairman of the (?rayon soviet executive committee), the rayon procurator [words indistinct]. The detentions were organized by the Azerbaijani OMON and the troops. The OMON has surrounded the winery and guards have fired in self-defense. Two members of the OMON have been severely injured.

The population of (?Arakkum), (?Golanlar), (?Baruntukh), (?Arkakya) villages have been taken to an unspecified location by the OMON. On the same day, the troops fired on the [name indistinct] village.

The number of the detainees in the oblast now exceeds 300.

Colonel Zhukov, military commandant of the oblast, has been suddenly called to Baku.

Stopping Bloodshed Urged

LD1805164491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1350 GMT 18 May 91

[Text] According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Azerbaijan, 90 more refugees left Nagorno-Karabakh for Yerevan aboard helicopters yesterday. During a document check in Martuninskiy Rayon, one Azerbaijani militiamen was killed and two were wounded. Two local residents of Armenian nationality were also wounded. The Executive Committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast soviet has called on the Azerbaijani community to stop the bloodshed and to help stabilize the situation. Its members believe that this can be guaranteed by the withdrawal of the Azerbaijani special purpose militia detachment functionaries from the region.

MVD, KGB Operating in NKAO

NC2005104491 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] Yerevan, 16 May (ARMENPRES)—ARMENPRES has learned that the USSR Security Council has decided that the troops of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] and the subunits of the USSR Defense Ministry deployed in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and its environs should conduct operations to clear the oblast of "extremists and guerrillas."

One thousand members of the Azerbaijani Special Militia Detachments will also take part in the operation in coordination with the Security Council. The army subunits and special detachments will be under the jurisdiction of the Azerbaijani Internal Affairs Ministry. The operation is being supervised by Azerbaijani Interior Minister Asadov. The USSR Defense Ministry, the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry, and the USSR KGB has each sent a high-ranking officer to the NKAO, where the triumverate is operating independently of the structures in the oblast. Similar triumvirates are being set up in all rayons.

These officials are operating under false names and their posts and military ranks are temporary. They are fully empowered to resolve any problem that arises.

Searches are being conducted in Gadrutskiy Rayon solely by members of the special detachments, and residents of the villages of Binyatlu and Dolanlar have been deported. The troops have surrounded the villages to protect the special detachments.

The oblast and rayon commandants have been deprived of virtually any role in these operations. In line with the decision of these same three people, the detention centers operating under the jurisdiction of the USSR and Azerbaijani Internal Affairs Ministries have been moved from the oblast to the Azerbaijani Rayons of (?Dzhabrayil), Fizulinskiy, Agdamskiy, Mir-Bashirskiy, and Shushinskiy. All detainees are being taken to the centers in these rayons.

The operation, under which Azerbaijani villages are exempted from searches, has been approved by USSR Vice President Yanayev.

Appeal to UN Secretary General

OW2005075191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] The executive council of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region has issued a new appeal to the UN Secretary General and to heads of states and governments all over the world asking to grant political asylum to the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh and to enable them to leave the Soviet Union taking their moveable property with them in accordance with universally accepted provisions of international law. The first appeal to the United Nations was sent on May 15.

The new message points to the fact that 19 Armenian villages have by now been totally devastated.

"There are over 160 thousand Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh", the message states, "It does not take much time or effort to exterminate them or to subject them to forceful deportations. That is why we ask you to extend us urgent assistance in order to prevent a genocide against the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh. Tomorrow the world community will be unable to help this defenceless people for it will be simply non-existent."